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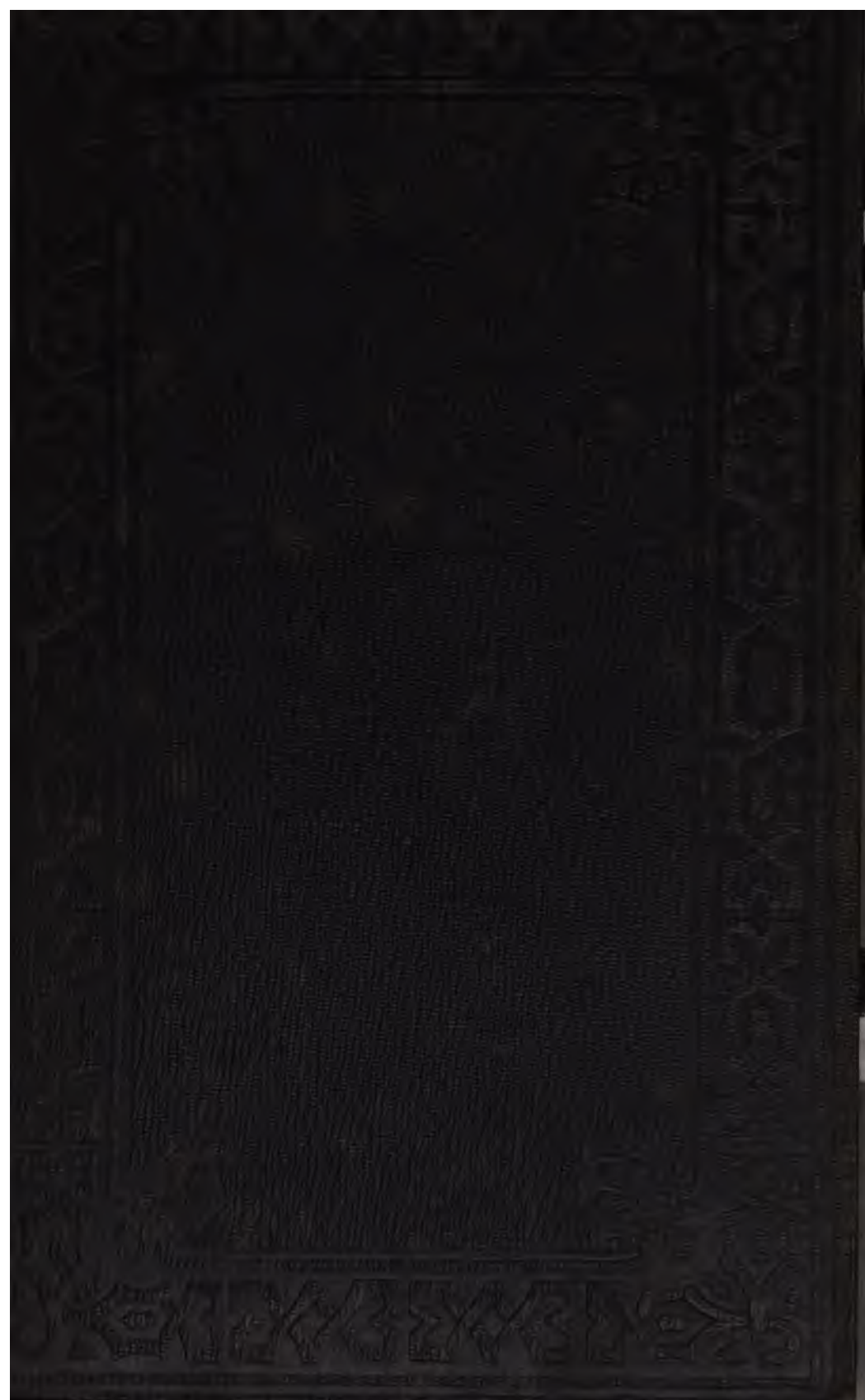
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AIDS  
FOR DETERMINING  
SOME DISPUTED POINTS  
IN  
**The Ceremonial**  
OF  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY  
WILLIAM GOODE, M.A., F.S.A.,  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction .....	1
SECTION I.	
The Principle on which the Legality of Church Ornaments, Vestures, Ceremonies, and Gestures is to be determined .....	3
SECTION II.	
The Meaning of the Rubric on Ornaments at the Commencement of the Prayer Book.....	11
SECTION III.	
General Power of the Bishop in regulating the Mode of conducting the Service.....	15
SECTION IV.	
Place and Position of the Minister.	
(1.) Place where the Common Prayers and Lessons are to be read....	16
(2.) Place where the Litany is to be said or sung .....	17
(3.) Place where the former part of the Communion Service is to be read, when there is no Communion.....	17
(4.) The Position of the Minister at the Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion.....	18
SECTION V.	
On the manner in which that part of the Service that is directed to be "read," or "said," is to be uttered.....	20



## SECTION VI.

	Page
Gestures and Postures, such as Crossing, &c.....	24

## SECTION VII.

## Vestures.—

(1.) Vestures for Reading Prayers, or Ministering the Sacraments....	29
(2.) The Dress for Preaching.....	39

## SECTION VIII.

Images—that is, Statues or Pictures of Saints, Crucifixes, and Crosses—in Churches.....	49
---	----

## SECTION IX.

Lights on the Communion Table .....	76
-------------------------------------	----

## SECTION X.

Furniture of the Communion Table .....	82
--	----

## SECTION XI.

On mixing Water with the Wine used at the Holy Communion. ....	87
--	----

## SECTION XII.

On the Mode of delivering the Bread and Wine to the Communicants. ....	89
--	----

## SECTION XIII.

On the Sermon being preceded and followed by a Prayer.....	91
--	----

# AIDS FOR DETERMINING,

ETC., ETC.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE present circumstances of the Church of England have induced me to expand some notes, made several years ago, upon certain matters of Ceremonial order in our Church, and place the result before the Public. I have limited myself to those points which, from the efforts made in some quarters to re-introduce among us practices more suitable to the doctrines and worship of the Church of Rome than to those of our own Church, have lately become subjects of public interest. And my object has been, to state fairly and impartially the evidence we possess for the determination of the questions here discussed; as it should ever be recollected in the consideration of such matters, (in which there are tendencies to both extremes among us,) that they are questions of *fact*, to be determined without any regard to theological prepossessions.

I have not noticed the subject of "Altars," having published long ago on that point,\* and the question having been since determined by an elaborate Judgment of the Court of Arches. It is now a settled point, that our Church allows only of Communion Tables, and prohibits both Altars and Credence Tables, and has carefully expunged even the word "altar" from the Book of Common Prayer.

I cannot conclude these prefatory remarks without expressing my regret (a feeling shared with me, I suppose, by many

\* Altars prohibited by the Church of England. Two Parts. 8vo.

others) at the unsatisfactory state in which many of these points of ceremonial order remain in our Church.

So far, indeed, as concerns doubtful points of ceremonial order, the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer clearly gives a power to the Bishops and Archbishops to determine them upon appeal, as I shall show hereafter. But unfortunately such a determination is not a *permanent* settlement of the question even in the particular case in which it is given; and such Episcopal determinations might introduce any thing but uniformity among us. But our 80th Canon distinctly recognizes the power of the Crown to explain such points, when it directs Parishes to get the Prayer Book of James I. "lately explained in some few points by his Majesty's authority, according to the laws and *his Highness's prerogative in that behalf.*" And this was said of "explanations" that added the most important doctrinal part of the Catechism. I am no advocate for making the prerogative extend so far as that, especially in a matter settled by Act of Parliament. But for explanations of doubtful points of order, with the proper ecclesiastical advice, the Church might, I think, be thankful. And I will add my humble conviction, that it would have reason to be thankful, if a similar power of dealing with the Rubric were given to Her Majesty to that which was conferred upon Queen Elizabeth by the Act of Uniformity of 1559. No man, who knows anything of the history of our Reformed Church, could object to the exercise of such a power by the Crown, as opposed to the principles of our Church. The authority of the Sovereign in points of ceremonial order, was the constant argument of the earlier Bishops against the Puritans.

But on this subject I shall not here enlarge.

## SECTION I.

THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THE LEGALITY OF CHURCH ORNAMENTS, VESTURES, CEREMONIES, AND GESTURES, IS TO BE DETERMINED.

By the Preface prefixed to all the Common Prayer Books issued in this country by public authority from the first of Edw. VI. inclusive, we are informed that some of the ceremonies that had been previously in use in our Church were "*abolished*;" and reasons are given "why some of the accustomed ceremonies be *put away*, and some retained and kept still." No enumeration is made of those so "*abolished*" and "*put away*;" and, consequently, the only sure guide we have as to those that are retained, consists of the *positive* directions to be found in the Rubrics and other authoritative documents of our Church, as to the rites, ceremonies, and gestures to be used in the public services of the Church. In fact, the Act of Uniformity, authorizing the first Book of Edw. VI., expressly limits the things retained to "those things which be retained in the said Book;" and extols the advantages which would "ensue upon the *one and uniform rite and order* in such common prayer, and rites, and *external ceremonies*." (§ 1.)

It is obvious, then, that under these circumstances,—that is, the *tacit "abolition"* of various ceremonies in use here before the Reformation,—*the absence of an express prohibition of any rite or ceremony is no justification for its use by a Clergyman of our Church in conducting public worship.*

Still further, *any rite or ceremony not expressly appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, is, by the Acts of Uniformity, directly forbidden in the public services of the Church.* These Acts are 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 1, applying *originally* to the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI., which was confirmed and made to apply to the *second* Prayer Book of Edw. VI. by 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. This Act having been repealed by Mary, was revived by Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. c. 2.

The last Act of Uniformity is that of 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4, by which (§ 24) *the provisions and penalties of the former Acts of Uniformity were revived with reference to the Book of Common Prayer thereby established*. Now the Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 1, expressly enacts, that all Ministers “be bounden “to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the “Lord’s Supper, commonly called the Mass, and Administra- “tion of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open “prayer, in such order and *form* as is mentioned in the same “book, and none other or otherwise” (§ 1). And so in Queen Elizabeth’s Act of Uniformity it is enacted, that if any “refuse “to use the said Common Prayers, or to minister the Sacra- “ments . . . in such order or *form* as they be mentioned and “set forth in the said book, or shall, wilfully or obstinately “standing in the same, use *any other rite, ceremony, order, “form, or manner of celebrating of the Lord’s Supper, openly “or privily, or matins, even-song, administration of the Sacra- “ments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned and set forth “in the said book,”* they are to be punished as there directed. (§ 4). And it should be observed, that the punishment of one convicted of this “by the verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact,” is the forfeit of one year’s income of the benefice to the Sovereign, and six months’ imprisonment; and for a second offence, after such conviction, imprisonment for a year, and deprivation of “all his spiritual promotions;” and this may be inflicted by a temporal court. Justices of the Peace may carry out this Act.

The consequence is, that it is as much in the power of the laity as of the Bishop to prevent the introduction of rites and ceremonies in the public Services of the Church, contrary to, or not sanctioned by, the Prayer Book.\*

And hence Queen Elizabeth, in her “Proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the Orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer,” in 1573, orders “all Archbishops and “Bishops, and *all Justices of Assises, and ‘Oyer and Terminer,’ “and all Mayors, head officers of cities and towns corporate,*

\* It is perhaps worth mentioning here, that, as it respects *psalms* or *prayers*, there is a proviso in the first Act of Uniformity (§ 7,) authorizing the addition of “any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible.”

*“and all other who have any authority, to put in execution the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer,” &c.*

This “Proclamation” was sent to each Bishop, with a letter from the Council stating,—“We, at her Majesty’s commandment straightly made unto us, are therefore to require you to take a more vigilant eye to this Uniformity, and to the keeping of the orders allowed by the said Parliament, and by her Majesty’s Injunctions, throughout your diocese; and either by yourself, which were most fit, or by your Archdeacons, or other able and wise men, personally to visit, and see that in no one Church of your diocese there be any difformity or difference used for those prescribed orders . . . . The which except ye did wink at and dissemble, there needed not these new proclamations and straight callings upon.” &c. (Wilk. Conc. iv. 278, 279.)

And what is understood by this prohibition is clear from Royal and Episcopal Visitation Articles, dating from the period of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. For in certain Articles issued by Royal Authority, just after the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI. was put forth, we find the following as the second;—

“Item for an Uniformity, that no Minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass, as to kiss the Lord’s Table, washing his fingers at every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary; or crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion; ringing or [of] sacring bells; or *setting any light upon the Lord’s board at any time*; and FINALLY, TO USE NO OTHER CEREMONIES THAN ARE APPOINTED IN THE KING’S BOOK OF COMMON PRAYERS, OR KNEELING OTHERWISE THAN IS IN THE SAID BOOK.” (Wilkins. Concil. iv. 32, from Burnet’s Hist. of Ref. ii. App. 165; or Cardwell’s Doc. Ann. i. 63, 64.)

And so in Bishop Ridley’s Injunctions in his Visitation of his Diocese of London in 1550, after prohibiting in one of them the ceremonies mentioned in the Article just quoted, he adds,—“*And finally, that the Minister, in time of the holy com-*

"*munion, do use ONLY the ceremonies and GESTURES appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and NONE OTHER, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popish Mass.*" (Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. II. ii. 292, or Cardwell's Doc. Ann. i. 81, 82.) And in his Articles of Inquiry at the same time, he asks,—"*Whether any minister useth wilfully and obstinately any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of communion, matins, or even-song, ministration of sacraments, or open prayers, than is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.*" (Wilk. Conc. iv. 61; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 80.)

Again, in Queen Elizabeth's time, Archbishop Parker, in his Articles for the Diocese of Canterbury in 1569, inquires, "*Whether they [i. e. your priests, curates, or ministers] do use all rites and orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and none other.*" Art. 3. (Wilk. Conc. iv. 258; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 321.)

So also Archbishop Grindal, in his Injunctions issued in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Province of York in 1571, orders,—"*Ye shall not deliver the communion-bread unto the people into their mouths, but into their hands; nor shall use at the ministration of the Communion any GESTURES, rites, or ceremonies, NOT APPOINTED BY THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, as CROSSING or breathing over the sacramental bread and wine, nor any shewing or lifting up of the same to the people, to be by them worshipped and adored, nor ANY SUCH LIKE,*" &c. (Works, p. 124.) And in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Province of Canterbury in 1576, the Seventh Article of Inquiry asks, whether the clergy "*use at the ministration of the Communion any gestures,*" &c., in exactly the same terms. (*Ib.* p. 159.)

And Archbishop Whitgift, in his Metropolitan Visitation of Chichester in 1585, inquires,—"*Whether your minister have used any other form or manner of Public Prayers, [and] administration of Sacraments, or any other rites, ceremonies, or orders, than are prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; or hath he altered them, or any of them, how, and in what manner?"* (Wilk. Conc. iv. 318; Cardw. Doc. Ann. ii. 4.)

And it is expressly enjoined also by the 14th Canon of 1604, that "all ministers shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well "in reading the Holy Scriptures, and saying of Prayers, as in "administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing "in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or *adding* "*anything* in the matter *or form* thereof."

With these authorities before us, we may judge of the reasonableness of a notion lately put forth among us, that where no direct prohibition occurs in the rubric or elsewhere, there the minister may introduce any of the ancient usages of the Church. I will only say that it is a notion likely to cost a clergyman who acts upon it dear, if any one chooses to put the Act of Uniformity in force against him. And with this remark I dismiss the consideration of it.

The language of the Acts of Uniformity, and of the Canon, clearly shews, that the minister, when engaged in the public services of the Church, is prohibited from adding any ceremonial observances to those prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. One great object in view in putting forth the Book of Common Prayer was *uniformity*, not merely in the *matter* of the Services used, but in the *mode* and *form* and *ceremonial* of public worship; and this would be destroyed, if the minister had the liberty to introduce unauthorized additions of bowings and crossings, &c., which have a tendency to give a different character to the Service. Nor can they be defended on the ground of their being things of little moment, because they confessedly belong to that class of usages of which many were "abolished" and "put away" at the Reformation, as tending to encourage superstition. And the pertinacity with which such usages are persevered in as matters of moment, and the teaching with which they are connected, demonstrate that they are felt to be, by those who introduce them, no unimportant additions, but intended to produce an effect on the mind of the worshippers.

And it must be observed, that all these remarks apply, and apply exclusively, to our *present* Book of Common Prayer. The previous Books of Common Prayer (with the exception of the directions about ornaments in the first Book of Edw. VI.)



are as much superseded as the Romish Missals and Breviaries, the Act of Uniformity binding us strictly to *the last revision*. Consequently, the references we sometimes meet with to the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI. as justifying a rite or practice, are *entirely invalid*; and it is difficult to understand how they can have been put forward by a clergyman of our Church as of any authority.

To this principle, however, there is one exception,—and that is, where a custom is sanctioned by any Canon of the Church. But this exception can be pleaded only for one ceremony, that of bowing at the name of the Lord Jesus, as I shall presently show.

Whatever sanction may be derived from precedent for other ceremonies, such as bowing to the East or the Communion Table, and turning to the East when the Creed is recited, such ceremonies clearly have not, in *parochial* churches or chapels, any legal foundation to rest upon; and the prohibitory terms of the Acts of Uniformity and the Canon are against their use.

It must be observed, however, that these remarks apply only to parochial churches and chapels. Cathedral and Collegiate bodics have peculiar statutes of their own, in some of which certain usages of this kind are prescribed; and it appears that from the first, exceptions were made in some matters of this kind in favour of Cathedral and Collegiate churches.\* And it is obvious to any intelligent and impartial inquirer into such matters, that it was the permitted continuance of certain usages in the Cathedral and Collegiate churches (not to mention Royal and Private chapels),—where their statutes, and the terms of their endowments, and (it may be added) the different circumstances of the case, afforded some ground for such a privilege,—that led to their partial retention in some parochial churches. And it was an example of which Archbishop Laud and his party abundantly availed themselves, when they laboured to introduce a new tone of ecclesiastical feelings and views in our Church.

\* Hence, in Archbishop Parker's Articles, about the year 1569, we find for *Cathedrals* the inquiry, "Whether your Divine Service be used . . . . . in all points according to the statutes of your Church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's laws and injunctions," but for *parochial churches*, only, whether it is "as it is set forth by the laws of this realm, without any kind of variation." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 253 and 257.)

We need take, however, but a very superficial view of the history of our Church to be convinced, that evidence of the existence of certain usages and practices in various churches at different periods since the Reformation, particularly at the Laudian era, is no proof of their legality. I mention this with especial reference to certain works that have lately appeared among us, which seem to proceed upon the notion that usages and practices so sanctioned are in consequence lawful.

There is one more remark which I cannot refrain from making before I pass on. And that is, that it seems not a little surprising, that those who are now so prominently putting forward the plea of *conscience* for strictly abiding by the Rubric as *the rule* which they have undertaken to follow, should be the very parties who most violate it by their unauthorized additions, and would be the most opposed to its being consistently obeyed.

Our professedly strict Rubricians and Canonists are sadly inconsistent with their professed principle, and would be very sorry to be compelled to carry it out ; for, instead of having the Communion Table placed *permanently*, as it now is, at the east end of the church, which enables them to make it wear the appearance of an Altar, they would have to move it, when the Communion was administered, so as would take away this appearance. For the Rubric directs that at the Communion time it “shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, *where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said.*” And Canon 82 orders that at the Communion time it “shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said minister.” And in Queen Elizabeth’s Injunctions it was directed, “that the Holy Table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the Visitors, and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed ; at which time the same shall be so

“*placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time the same Holy Table to be placed where it stood before.*” (Wilk. Concil. iv. 188.) And such was the custom for a long period. But Archbishop Laud,—seizing with characteristic sagacity upon an accidental circumstance of the bread being once carried off by a dog from the Table,—in his Metropolitcal Visitation in 1635, ordered the Table to be surrounded by low rails as it stood at the east end of the church, which of course had the effect of leaving it permanently “in the place where the Altar stood,” which was one step gained towards its recognition as an “Altar.” Now, as it is not impossible to keep dogs out of the church, and low rails are not a very effectual guard against a hungry dog, some people thought that the order had a much higher object in view than the prevention of such occurrences; and, as might have been expected, many stoutly refused compliance. And it is clear from Laud’s own expressions,\* that he felt he had no right to insist upon such an order being obeyed. It was in fact directly against the Rubric. But with the High Commission Court to back him, nothing (so to speak) was impossible to him in matters of that kind, and so the custom gradually prevailed.

Now I should be very sorry to disturb such an arrangement, after it has existed so long, and people have become accustomed to it. But when we hear so much about *conscience* compelling a man to abide strictly in every respect by the Rubric, and the laws of the Church, and see the Church thrown into confusion for the sake of reviving some practices that have been long disused, (to say nothing now of practices directly illegal) we may be permitted to ask, how it is that these tender consciences have never thought of reviving the practice prescribed by law in this matter.

\* Hist. of Troubles, &c. of W. Laud, by Wharton, vol. i. p. 543.

## SECTION II.

THE MEANING OF THE RUBRIC ON ORNAMENTS AT  
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

At the commencement of the Book of Common Prayer occurs the following Rubric,—“And here is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.”

The question, then, arises here, How are we to ascertain what ornaments had “the authority of Parliament” in 2 Edw. VI.? It may be well, therefore, before we proceed further, to determine this point.

It must be observed, that the Rubric requires the express “authority of Parliament” for the ornaments sanctioned by it. Now, what ornaments had such authority? *Those only that were mentioned in the first Common Prayer Book of Edward VI.*, and were consequently authorized by the Act of Uniformity, 2 Edward VI. This is an important point; but, as it is impossible to prove a negative, it rests with those who are disposed to deny it, to shew what other Act of Parliament there was, authorizing such ornaments.

The chief argument adduced against this conclusion is, that as by the Act 31 Henry VIII. c. 8., confirmed by 34, 35 Henry VIII. c. 23, Proclamations issued by the King for the time being, with the advice of his Privy Council, or the major part, were to be obeyed and kept as though they were made by Act of Parliament, therefore the “Injunctions” issued by Edw. VI. in 1547, are to be considered as equivalent to an Act of Parliament, and what was ordered thereby as having “the authority of Parliament.”

But in the first place, the words of the Rubric require the express "authority of Parliament" for any ornament, and are not satisfied by an order issued only by the Crown, though it be admitted that Parliament had given the Crown power to issue orders *of the kind*. The words of the Rubric clearly require that Parliament should have given its sanction directly and expressly to any ornament, the use of which is contended for.

And secondly, if this were not the case, the "Injunctions" were issued by the King as "the Supreme Head" of the Church, not as a Proclamation coming under the meaning of the Act 31 Henry VIII. c. 8. And such was the view of Bishop Gardiner at the time.\* And Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, supports this view, and shews (what determines the question) that the Injunctions *were not put forth in the way the Act directs Proclamations to be published, to give them the force of an Act of Parliament*. (ii. 228.)† And the Injunctions are mentioned in State documents as distinct from the Proclamations. (See Lett. of Priv. Counc. in 1548 in Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 53.)

Consequently, the argument altogether fails.‡

The only other objection I have met with is, that, as by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. all the Provincial Canons and Constitutions (not opposed to the King's Prerogative, &c.) were to be in force until a Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws was agreed to; therefore all the ornaments prescribed by them are enjoined by this Rubric. I will venture to leave this argument to its fate, humbly indulging the hope that it proves *too much*.

I will only add, that Dr. Nicholls (Comment on Comm. Pr.), Wheatly (Illust. of Comm. Pr. p. 102, 6th ed.), Palmer (Orig. Liturg. ii. 396, 4th ed.), all, *without question*, interpret

\* Collier Eccl. Hist. ii. 228.

† In the same year, a few months after the Injunctions were issued, the Act 31 Henry VIII. c. 8. and the Act confirming it, 34, 35 Henry VIII. c. 23, were repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. § 5.

‡ Mr. Robertson's statement, therefore, that these Injunctions have the authority of law, is clearly a mistake. (See his "How shall we Conform to the Liturgy?" 2nd ed. p. 79 and 151.)

the words "authority of Parliament," as referring to the Act of Uniformity, 2 Edw. VI., and consequently the "ornaments" as those sanctioned by the Book of Common Prayer authorized by that Act. Dr. Bennet also says, "it is *notorious*," that by the ornaments in this Rubric "we are to understand such as were prescribed by the first Common Prayer Book" of Edward VI. (Paraphrase with Annot. on Bk. of C. P. 2d. ed. 1709. p. 3.)

It may be said, What direction is there in the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI. for "ornaments of the Church?" Now, first, the absence of such direction proves nothing. He who contends for the legality of any "ornament of the Church" on the ground of this Rubric, must show "the authority of Parliament" for it. If he cannot shew this, he proves nothing. And, secondly, it is to be observed, that the corresponding Rubric in the Prayer Books of 1559 and 1604 ran thus,—"And here is to be noted that *the minister* at the time of "the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, *shall use such ornaments in the Church*, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set in "the beginning of this Book" [*i. e.* the Act of Uniformity of 1559.] Here we find only a notice of the ornaments to be used in the Church *by the minister* (respecting which there were specific directions given in the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI.), but no notice of "ornaments of the Church." And the difference is the more remarkable, because the words of the Act of Uniformity of 1559 (§ 25) correspond with those of our present Prayer Book. Now this Rubric, as it refers to the Act, must have been drawn up *subsequent* to the Act, and inserted in the Book, on its publication, on the authority of § 25 of the Act; and it would seem that the Ecclesiastical authorities, who had the charge of publishing the book, worded the direction about ornaments more correctly than the Act, knowing that there was no direct order about "ornaments of the Church" in Edward's first Book. The only "ornaments of the Church" recognized in King Edward's first Book are some few things,

such as the vessels required for the Holy Communion, incidentally mentioned in the Rubric.

It may be worthy of notice, on this head, that when this Rubric was first introduced in the Prayer Book of 1559, it seems to have been intended as only a temporary direction. For the Act of Uniformity authorizing this Book enacts as follows,—“ Provided always, and be it enacted, That such “ ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall “ be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England “ by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign “ of King Edward the Sixth, *until other order shall be therein “ taken* by the authority of the Queen’s Majesty, with the “ advice of her commissioners appointed and authorized under “ the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the “ Metropolitan of this realm.” And, as I shall shew hereafter, it has been held by many, that “ other order” was taken afterwards, in the way here required, respecting these ornaments, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

But the form in which the Rubric has been revived in our present Book of Common Prayer, certainly seems to throw us back to the directions of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. respecting “ ornaments.” Whether the Canons of 1604 are to be considered as at all modifying the requirements of the Rubric, is a point which I shall consider when I come to speak on the subject of Vestures.

## SECTION III.

GENERAL POWER OF THE BISHOP IN REGULATING THE  
MODE OF CONDUCTING THE SERVICE.

BEFORE proceeding to the consideration of the particular points now in question, relating to the mode of conducting the Services of our Church, it is desirable to notice the *general power* given to the Ordinary on this subject in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. That Preface provides that,—

“Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but “doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same, to “appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for the resolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to understand, “do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the “parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall “always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of “the same; so that the same order be not contrary to any “thing contained in this Book. And if the Bishop of the “Diocese be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution “thereof to the Archbishop.”

In cases, therefore, where the Rubric is doubtful, or *diversely understood*, there the Bishop, on being appealed to, may decide the question, and thus “appease” *the diversity*; and the parties appealing are bound by his sentence, unless it is “contrary to” any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer. And the words “appeasing *diversity*,” “quieting and appeasing” &c., shew that this direction is intended to apply to cases where there are disputes between a minister and his parishioners on the subject.

This general power clearly enables the Ordinary to determine many particular points connected with the mode of conducting Public Service, when appealed to. Its applicability to some of the points here considered, I shall notice when I come to them.



## SECTION IV.

## PLACE AND POSITION OF THE MINISTER.

(1.) *Place where the Common Prayers and Lessons are to be read.*

THE Rubric and 14th Canon of 1604 clearly leave this at the discretion of the Ordinary.

The Rubric, at the commencement of the Book of Common Prayer, directs that,—“The Morning and Evening Prayers “ shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chapel, “ or Chancel ; *except it shall be otherwise determined by the “ Ordinary of the place.*”

And the 14th Canon directs that,—“The Common Prayer “ shall be said or sung . . . *in such place of every church “ as the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ecclesiastical Ordinary of “ the place, shall think meet* for the largeness or straitness “ of the same, so as the people may be most edified.”

There cannot be any doubt as to the meaning of these Rubrics.

If a question arises as to the *position of the minister* in the place assigned to him ; that is, whether he is to turn towards the people or towards the East ; the decision of this question rests with the Ordinary, by the general power given to him in the Preface. The older Episcopal Injunctions, however, are clearly in favour of his turning towards the people. See, for instance, Grindal's Injunctions for the Province of York in 1571 ; (Works, p. 123 and 132) ; and his Articles for the Province of Canterbury in 1576. (Ib. p. 157.)

And the Rubric respecting the Lessons is, — “He that “ readeth so standing and turning himself as he may best be “ heard of all such as are present.”

Of this, of course, if there is a diversity of opinion, the Ordinary is to be the judge, according to the general power given to him in the Preface.

Much might be added on this and some other points here discussed, illustrative of the directions given in former times on the subject from ancient Episcopal Injunctions and Articles, and other similar sources; but to do so would extend this work beyond the object I have in view.\* After all that could be said, the power of ordering the matter would clearly rest with the Ordinary.

(2.) *Place where the Litany is to be said or sung.*

For this we have an express direction in the 15th Canon of 1604; namely, that it is to be “in some convenient place, according to the discretion of the Bishop of the diocese, or Ecclesiastical Ordinary of the place.”

(3.) *Place where the former part of the Communion Service is to be read when there is no Communion.*

The Rubric appears to me clearly to require that this portion of the Service be read at the Communion Table. It is true that the direction given in the Rubric for the priest to stand at the North side of the Table, is accompanied by a statement which seems to contemplate an administration of the Communion. But it should be observed that, after the directions for reading the former part of the Service at the Table, we have, before the Prayer for the Church Militant, the following Rubric: —“And *when there is a Communion*, the priest shall then place upon the Table,” &c. This seems to show that the former Rubrics apply even when there is to be no Communion. And otherwise, no direction would exist on the subject.

That the language used in the first Rubric should imply preparedness for an administration of the Communion, is not, I think, to be wondered at; because I believe it to have been the desire of our Church to shew a readiness to administer

\* I would here observe, that a good deal of useful information on most of the points here considered is to be found in Mr. Robertson's work, “How shall we conform to the Liturgy?” (2nd ed. 1844, 8vo.)

the Communion on all such occasions, if a sufficient number of persons signified a desire to communicate.\*

In the practice on this point, there appears to have been some discrepancy from the earliest period.

(4.) *The position of the Minister at the Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion.*

It will hardly be denied, that the *usual* place occupied by the minister at the Prayer of Consecration, is the North side or end of the Table. But it is urged that the Rubric preceding the Prayer of Consecration, inserted at the last Review in 1662, directs, "When the Priest, *standing before the Table*, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth ;" and therefore that the proper place of the priest at the Prayer of Consecration is "standing before the Table," of course with his back to the people, on account of the position of the Table, which is now (whether according to the direction of the original Rubric still remaining before the Service, or not) placed against the wall at Communion time, as well as other times.

Now the Divines who introduced this Rubric in 1662, probably contemplated the Table being in the position in which it is now ordinarily placed, and the Table being so placed, the priest, "standing before the Table," must stand with his face towards the Eastern wall, and his back to the people. And the Rubric clearly directs the priest to assume this position while "ordering the Bread and Wine." But the question is, whether the Rubric contemplates his *remaining* in that position, *after* he has ordered the bread and wine so that he can conveniently

\* I may be pardoned for observing here, in reply to much now said on the subject, that it is no part of what are incorrectly nicknamed "Low Church" principles to have infrequent Communion. For nearly the latter half of the last century, and sixteen years of the present, one of the *very* few churches in the kingdom in which there was a weekly Communion, was that of the Rev. W. Romaine, and his successor, my late venerated parent.

reach them, and during the Prayer of Consecration. Doubtless the words of the Rubric are not such as to *determine* the question. But the balance is certainly in favour of the usual practice, not merely from its *being* the *usual* practice, but from the words of the Rubric itself. For if the priest is to stand before the Table during the Prayer of Consecration, there is no necessity for "ordering the Bread and Wine" afresh so as to enable him to reach it; whereas if he is to stand at the North end, at which there is a cushion to reach over, the Bread and Wine must be placed close up at that end of the Table, and therefore he must so "order" it before the Prayer of Consecration, that he may reach it, as required, in the prayer. And again, how is he to break the bread "*before* the people," as required by the Rubric, if he does it while standing with his back towards the people?

Surely then this is a case in which, to say the least, no one is justified in introducing the *novel* practice in our Church, of standing before the Table with the back to the people during the Prayer of Consecration, without the sanction of the Bishop, to whom in doubtful matters, and where there is a diversity of opinion, the appeal is ordered by our Prayer Book to be made for direction. At any rate, the judgment of the Bishop upon a novel practice of this kind, ought to be decisive of the question.

## SECTION V.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THAT PART OF THE SERVICE THAT IS DIRECTED TO BE "READ" OR "SAID," IS TO BE UTTERED.

It will hardly be denied, that where the Rubric directs any portion of the Service to be "read," the *ordinary* interpretation of the word is not in favour of what is called plain song, or a monotonous recitative (sometimes called "intoning"); but of what is commonly understood by reading. It appears also, that the word "said," which is used occasionally in the Rubrics, is used as equivalent to "read;" for while the Athanasian Creed and the Litany are directed to be "*said* or sung," the Rubric before the Apostles' Creed speaks of "such days as the Creed of St. Athanasius is appointed to be *read*," and the Rubric after the third Collect uses the words "except when the Litany is *read*."

Now that, *as a general rule*, these words were intended to be understood in their ordinary acceptation, seems clear from the 53rd of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in 1559, published just after her Prayer Book was issued, which directs, "That all ministers and readers of public prayers, chapters, and homilies, shall be charged to *read leisurely, plainly, and distinctly*." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 188; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 199.) And the last of Queen Elizabeth's Visitation Articles of the same year is,—"*Whether the curates and ministers do leisurely, plainly, and distinctly read the public prayers, chapters, and homilies, as they ought to do.*" (Wilk. Conc. iv. 191; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 216.)

And in the "Injunctions" of the Bishop of Norwich (Parkhurst), in May 1561, we find the following interrogatories,—

“I. Whether the parson, vicar, curate, or reader, doth  
*“ read the common Service with a loud, distinct, and treatable  
 “ voice.”*

“2. Whether the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels be *read or  
 “ sung* so as they may be plainly heard of the people.”

This clearly shews what was then considered to be the meaning of the Rubric in ordinary cases; the Rubric, at that time, allowing the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels to be “read or sung.”

But it appears by the Queen’s Injunctions, that the Queen *permitted some churches*, for particular reasons, to use a plain song for the Prayers. For one (the 49th) of those Injunctions is as follows,—“Item, because in divers Collegiate and also  
 “ some Parish churches, heretofore, there have been livings  
 “ appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use  
 “ singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable service  
 “ of music hath been had in estimation, and preserved in  
 “ knowledge; the Queen’s Majesty, neither meaning in any-  
 “ wise the decay of any thing that might conveniently tend to  
 “ the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have  
 “ the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby  
 “ the Common Prayer should be the worse understood of the  
 “ hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alterations  
 “ be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore hath  
 “ been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church,  
 “ but that the same so remain. And that there be a modest  
 “ and distinct song so used in all parts of the Common  
 “ Prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly  
 “ understood, as if it were read without singing; and yet  
 “ nevertheless for the comforting of such that delight in  
 “ music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the  
 “ end of the Common Prayers, either at morning or evening,  
 “ there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise  
 “ of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that  
 “ may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence  
 “ of the hymn may be understood and perceived.” (Wilk.  
 Conc. iv. 187; Cardw. ib. 196.)

It will be observed, therefore, that the use of a plain song for the Prayers was a *privilege* conceded only to *some* churches, from a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the case, and was not intended to be generally permitted. That in *such* churches (if any such remain) custom may now have established a sort of right to its continuance, is not to be denied.

The distinction between these and the ordinary churches, we see pointed out in the Rubrics of the Books of Common Prayer preceding the last, that give directions for the Lessons. The first direction is,—“Then shall be read two Lessons distinctly with a loud voice that the people may hear,” &c. And then it is added, “And to the end the people may the better hear, *in such places where they do sing*, there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading : and likewise the Epistle and Gospel.”

In the last revision of the Liturgy, in 1662, this second direction was omitted ; and consequently we now hear the Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel (as far as I can find) *everywhere* read.

In these Injunctions we may observe, that no notice is taken of Cathedral churches ; and the reason probably is, that they have peculiar Statutes of their own, and generally endowments for a Choral Service. And this makes their case one from which no argument can fairly be derived for the usages of Parochial churches ; a fact which seems to have been too often forgotten. Hence, though they are bound by the Acts of Uniformity to conform to the Prayer Book, there *may be* a reason why in their case the words reading and saying should not be strictly insisted on, but that they should be allowed to use, what is called in a Rubric just quoted, “a plain tune after the manner of distinct reading.”

And Bishop Burnet tells us, that their case was distinguished from that of Parish churches immediately after the introduction of the first Reformed Prayer Book, that is, the first of Edward VI. He says, that in the Visitation which took place immediately after the first Act of Uniformity, “there were two things much complained of ; the one was, that the

“priests read the prayers generally with the same tone of voice that they had used formerly in the Latin Service; so that it was said, the people did not understand it much better than they had done the Latin formerly. This I have seen represented in many letters; and it was very seriously laid before Cranmer by Martin Bucer. The course taken in it was, that in all Parish churches the Services should be read in a plain audible voice; but that the former way should remain in Cathedrals, where there were great Choirs, who were well acquainted with that tone, and where it agreed better with the music that was used in the Anthems. Yet even there, many thought it no proper way in the Litany, where the greatest gravity was more agreeable to such humble addresses than such a modulation of the voice, which to those unacquainted with it seemed light, and for others that were more accustomed to it, it seemed to be rather use that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitness in it to advance the devotion of their prayers. But this was a thing judged of less importance; it was said, that those who had been accustomed to read in that voice could not easily alter it: but as those dropped off and died, others would be put in their places, who would officiate in a plainer voice.” (Burnet’s Hist. of Reform. ; Part 2. Bk. 1., under year 1549. Nares’s ed. ii. 162.)

When, therefore, the 14th Canon of 1604 directs,—“The Common Prayer shall be *said or sung* distinctly and reverently upon such days as are appointed,” &c., it must be remembered that the Canon is speaking of Cathedral and Collegiate as well as Parochial churches; and, therefore, that the words do not imply a liberty in every parochial minister to say *or sing* the Prayers at his discretion.

Plain-song or “intoning,” therefore, is in Parochial churches contrary to the directions of our Church. And, at any rate, if this is doubted, the general power vested in the Bishop (described in § 3. p. 15 above) authorizes him to forbid the practice.



## SECTION VI.

## GESTURES AND POSTURES, SUCH AS CROSSING, &amp;c.

FOR the lawfulness of certain acts of this kind not sanctioned by the *present* Book of Common Prayer, we are referred to the following Rubric in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.: "As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, "knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be "used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, without blame." (Rubric at end of Communion Service.)

That such a reference should be made, is a matter for surprise and regret. We might almost as well be referred to the old Breviaries and Missals that were in use in Roman Catholic times. For the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. was as much superseded by those that came after it, as the old Breviaries and Missals were by that Book; except in the single point of "ornaments," for which, no doubt, our present Prayer Book refers us to those which had the authority of Parliament in the sanction it gave to that Book. And among the other alterations made in the subsequent Prayer Books, this Rubric was *omitted*; and consequently the sanction which it gave to such ceremonies and gestures deliberately taken away. The occurrence, therefore, of this Rubric in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., coupled with its omission in all the subsequent Prayer Books, and the stringent language of the Acts of Uniformity, only makes the case stronger *against* the use of the ceremonies and gestures permitted by it. For it is clear, as I have already shown in § 1, from the "Preface of Ceremonies" prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, and from all the Acts of Uniformity, as well as the 14th Canon, supported by Articles in Royal and Episcopal Visitations, that it was intended that all ceremonies not

sanctioned by the Book of Common Prayer should be, as far as concerns public worship, considered to be *taken away*. And, *à fortiori*, ceremonies sanctioned by the first reformed Prayer Book, and such sanction deliberately withdrawn in the subsequent Books, must be held to be abolished.

To the rule prescribed by the Prayer Book there is, I believe, but one addition sanctioned by authority, namely, that which was inserted in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions issued in 1559, shortly after the Prayer Book of that period, and which is now required by the 18th Canon,\* namely, that "when in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present."

The custom of bowing, on entering the church, towards the East, or the Communion Table, may no doubt plead various precedents in its favour, but certainly no authoritative sanction; for the Canons of 1640, into which Laud introduced it, are of no authority. And I think most will be disposed to agree with Bishop Burnet, that "all bowings to the altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use." (Own Time, ii. 636; or vi. 176, Oxf. ed.)

And in opposition to the testimony of Laud and his party in favour of the practice, we have that of Archbishop Williams, an equally good witness, on the contrary side. For in his Articles of Inquiry, when Bishop of Lincoln in 1641, he inquires,—“Do you know of any parson, vicar, or curate, that hath introduced any offensive rites or ceremonies into the Church, not established by the laws of the land; as, namely, that make three courtesies towards the Communion Table; that call the said Table an Altar; that enjoin the people at their coming into the church to bow towards the East, or towards the Communion Table?” (Articles to be

\* It appears from a MS. of Archbishop Sancroft, given by Wilkins (iv. 575), that a Canon respecting reverence in churches, including a direction on this head, was passed in Convocation on May 12, 1662, and Dr. Cardwell (Doc. Ann. ii. 253,) interprets this MS. as asserting that the Canon was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament; which is repeated, on Dr. C.'s authority, by Mr. Robertson. I should rather conceive that what is there given is only the draft of a proposed Act, not passed.

Inquired of in the Diocese of Lincoln, Lond. 1641, 4to.) So the House of Lords' Committee, in 1641, called it an innovation. (See Cardw. Conf. 2nd ed. p. 272.)

The practice of turning to the East when the Creed is recited, is equally without authority ; and was called an innovation by the House of Lords' Committee in 1641.\*

But both these customs having been apparently allowed to be retained in Cathedral and Collegiate churches and chapels (and, in some, required by Laud's Statutes), and in a measure tolerated in many Parochial churches, there is a species of sanction from custom, which might be sufficient to protect their use in parish churches, in an Ecclesiastical Court. The exception, more or less directly sanctioned by authority in Queen Elizabeth's time, in favour of the Royal chapels, and Cathedral and Collegiate churches and chapels, as well as private chapels, as to some of these observances, laid the foundation for much of the discordancy found in the usages of Parochial churches, and was one great argument of which Laud availed himself in his directions respecting Parish churches.

For a defence of the practice of making the sign of the Cross, we are referred to its use in Baptism, as required by the Book of Common Prayer, and particularly as defended in Canon 30. But the language of Canon 30 clearly tends in the contrary direction, because it confines its defence of the use of the sign of the Cross to its use in Baptism, and admits that "the sign of the Cross was greatly abused in the Church of Rome." It gives no sanction to its use except in Baptism, which tacitly implies that it is not to be used on other occasions, at any rate in the *public* Service of the Church by its ministers.

It can hardly be denied, when we recollect that one great object of the Reformation was to abolish a mass of ceremonies of this kind, that it needs some *direct* authority and *express* sanction for a minister of our Church, when performing public Service, to introduce such practices.

And on the subject of *crossing*, we have various direct testimonies to its *disallowance* by our Church except in Baptism.

\* See Cardwell's Conf. 2nd ed. p. 272, 273.

I have already, in Sect. 1, given some extracts from the Injunctions of Archbishop Grindal, bearing on this point. I will here add another from the Injunctions of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in 1561,—

“Item, that they neither suffer the Lord’s Table to be  
“hanged and decked like an Altar, neither use any *gestures*  
“of the Popish Mass in the time of ministration of the Com-  
“munion, as shifting of the book, washing, breathing, *cross-*  
“*ing*, or such like.” (Inj. 4.)

And the prohibition is extended in the Injunctions of Archbishop Grindal to the laity, one of them ordaining among other things,—“nor superstitiously shall make upon them-  
“selves the sign of the cross when they first enter into any  
“church to pray.” (Works, p. 140.)

And finally, we have this *decisive* testimony as to the rule of our Church on the subject from the pen of Archbishop Whitgift. After observing respecting the use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism,—“I see no cause why it may not be  
“used in Baptism, in that manner and form, as it is in this  
“Church of England,” &c., he adds,—“As for Papists, we  
“are far enough off from them, for they pictured the sign of  
“the cross and did worship it, so do not we : they used it to  
“drive away spirits and devils, so do not we : they attributed  
“power and virtue unto it, so do not we : *they had it in their*  
“*churches*, so HAVE NOT WE : they used it daily and nightly  
“for religion sake, *we ONLY IN BAPTISM*, for a sign and  
“token, as I have said before : so that their abusing of it is  
“sufficiently corrected.” (Whitgift’s Def. of Answ. to Admon. 1574, fol. p. 616.)

It will be recollected, that Archbishop Whitgift was the great *opponent* of the Puritans ; and with this remark I leave the passage to speak for itself.

It ought not to be forgotten, that if these additional ceremonies are to be allowed in the public ministrations of the Church, because they are not expressly forbidden, other ceremonies must be permitted on the same ground. For instance, in the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the use of

oil, tapers, spittle, and other Popish ceremonies, may be introduced, and defended on the same grounds as those we have been considering. The absence of any direct prohibition may be pleaded for the one as well as the other. And so, in short, almost the whole mass of Popish ceremonies that were intended to be "abolished," by the appointment of one uniform order of prayers, rites, and ceremonies, to which all were to be bound, may be re-introduced into our Church by the Romanizing party that have lately sprung up among us. And I am not here speaking of any thing unlikely to occur, for we find that even in 1571 Archbishop Grindal had to forbid, in his Injunctions issued in his Metropolitcal Visitation of the Province of York, the use of "any oil or chrism, "tapers, spittle, or any other Popish ceremony, in the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism;" (Grindal's Works, p. 124.) and to make a similar inquiry in his Visitation of the Province of Canterbury in 1576. (Ib. p. 160.)

And if *ceremonies* not forbidden may be introduced, *prayers* not forbidden may be introduced; and all semblance of uniformity be destroyed.

## SECTION VII.

## VESTURES.

(1.) *Vestures for Reading Prayers or Ministering the Sacraments.*

MY object in this work, as I have already stated, is to point out fairly and impartially the law of our Church on the subjects here discussed. I shall at once, therefore, admit my conviction, that the Rubric on ornaments, at the commencement of the Prayer Book, (quoted, p. 11 above), legalizes the ornaments sanctioned by the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. I have already, in Sect. 2 (p. 14), endeavoured to shew, that this direction, first given in Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity in 1559, and then inserted with some alteration in the Book of Common Prayer of that year, was probably not intended to be a permanent one. But this of course does not affect the question of its validity as found in our present Prayer Book, which is sanctioned by an Act of Parliament.

It is remarkable, however, and is certainly a proof of the unsatisfactory state in which some questions of this kind are left in our Church, that the direction given in the 58th Canon of 1604 (the Code of Canons now in force) is inconsistent with that contained in this Rubric. At the same time, it must be admitted, that a Rubric sanctioned both by Convocation and Parliament in 1662, cannot be invalidated by a Canon that had the sanction of Convocation only in 1604. Glad, therefore, as I should be to take the ground suggested by Mr. Robertson, that "it is not to be supposed, that those who [in 1662] re-enacted it [the Rubric], in-

tended to contradict and abrogate the 58th Canon," I cannot in fairness do so, because we have nothing to do with their intentions, or, in fact, with any thing but the law as it stands. Neither can I adopt the view of those who wish to throw a veil over such matters. I believe it to be for the interests of peace as well as truth, in the end, that the true state of the case should be clearly understood.

I now proceed, then, to point out what are the Vestures required by the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth.

The following Rubric occurs in that Book before the Communion Service.

" Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration; that is to say,—*a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope*. And where there be many priests or deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the priest, in the ministration, as shall be requisite: and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, *albes with tunicles*."

And at the end of the Communion Service we find the following Rubric,—

" And though there be none to communicate with the Priest, yet these days (after the Litany ended) the Priest shall put upon him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope, and say all things," &c.

Such are the vestures required by that Book for those who minister in the Communion Service. By the second Book of Edward, published in 1552, those vestures were expressly forbidden, and it was ordered that the minister, " being a Priest or Deacon, shall have and wear a surplice only." But in all the subsequent Books this direction has been withdrawn, and we are enjoined to use the ornaments required by King Edward's first Book.

It is quite unnecessary here to give any particular description of these vestures, as it is so easily obtainable from various works on the subject.

The other Rubrics in this Book on the subject of ornaments occur at the end of it, and are as follow,—

“ In the saying or singing of Matins and Even-song, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in parish churches, and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all Cathedral churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any University within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly, that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees.”

“ And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy communion in the Church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, besides his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.”

The Rubric respecting the dress of Bishops it is unnecessary to notice here.

The Rubric respecting the use of the surplice and hood prescribes nothing that varies from the present well-understood law and universal custom, except in requiring the use of the hood in preaching, which is not ordinarily the practice among us when the gown is used in preaching; but, as I suppose no one either among the clergy or laity would have any objection to its use, if any one chose to wear it, or was required to wear it, it is a point not worth further notice.

So far, then, as the parochial clergy are concerned, the only “ornaments” required by the Rubric at the commencement of the Prayer Book, in addition to the surplice and hood now in use, are these,—that the chief ministering priest at the holy communion shall wear a *white albe plain* (instead of the surplice), with a *vestment* or *cope*; and his assistant or assistants an albe with a *tunicle*. The “vestment” is considered to be what is called the *chasuble*, the “tunicle” what



is sometimes called the *dalmatic*. And I admit that these things are enjoined by the Rubric. So far as the letter of the law is concerned, the matter seems clear. And I must add, that at the time the direction in this Rubric was first given, it seems to have been, at least as respects the cope, acted upon. For in the "Interpretations and further Considerations" of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559, drawn up by Archbishop Parker, and other Bishops, we find the following: "That there be used only but one apparel; as the *cope* in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the *surplice* in all other ministrations." (Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 205.)

But it is worth consideration, what may be alleged from other sources to shew the *reasonableness* of our present usage, and the probability of its being nearer the intentions of our Church than the strict letter of the above Rubric. It will be recollected, that Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity sanctioned the "ornaments" prescribed in King Edward's first Prayer Book, "*until other order shall be therein taken* by the "authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her "Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great "Seal of England for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metro-  
"politan of this realm."

Now in January, 1564—5, were issued "Advertisements "partly for due order in the public administration of common "prayers, and using the holy sacraments, and partly for *the "apparel of all persons ecclesiastical*, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters commanding the same," the Preface to which tells us, that the Orders therein were drawn up and prescribed by the Metropolitan and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in obedience to the Queen's letters directing them to publish such orders. Whether they received the Queen's sanction *after* they were drawn up, is a point which seems doubtful. And consequently there is a question whether they came under the meaning of the clause in the Act above quoted. I humbly conceive that they did so; and the way in which they are referred to in Art. 1 and 4 of Abp. Parker's "Articles of Inquiry," in 1569 (Wilk. Conc. iv. 257, 258; or Cardw. Doc.

Ann. i. 321), and Art. 4 of Archbishop Whitgift's "Articles touching Preachers," &c. in 1584 (Wilk. Conc. iv. 307; or Card. Doc. Ann. i. 413), and Canon 24 of the Canons of 1604, seems to me strongly confirmatory of that view. I may also add, that all the directions given subsequently respecting the dress of ministers in the public services of the Church, in Injunctions, Articles, and Canons, seem to correspond with those we find in these "Advertisements."

And in a Puritan work, entitled "Certain Considerations drawn from the Canons, &c.," published in 1605, there is a passage which strongly implies that the Bishops did rely upon these "Advertisements," as satisfying the provisions of the Act; for when speaking about the order for "ornaments" in the Act, it remarks, "By the Advertisements, whereupon, as it seemeth, they [*i. e.* the Archbishops and Bishops] did *principally rely*, and *by authority whereof they did chiefly proceed*, it is apparent," &c. (p. 35.)

For later authorities, I would observe, that Bishop Sparrow, in his "Rationale," quotes the directions of the "Advertisements," without question, as showing how the Rubric is to be followed (6th ed. 1722, p. 248, 249): that Dr. Bennet, in his "Paraphrase with Annotations on the Book of Common Prayer," takes the same view (2nd ed. 1709, p. 5); as also Archdeacon Sharp, in his Visitation Charges on the Rubric and Canons, 1753, 8vo. p. 80, 81.

In these "Advertisements," then, we have the following directions:—"Item, in the ministration of the holy communion in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably; and at all other prayers to be said at that communion-table, to use no copes but surplices.

"Item, that the Dean and Prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the quire; and when they preach in the Cathedral or Collegiate church, to wear their hood.

"Item, that every minister saying any public prayers, or *ministering the sacraments* or other rites of the Church, shall wear a *comely surplice* with sleeves, to be provided at

"the charges of the parish." (Wilk. iv. 248; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 291, 292.)

Here the *albe* seems given up, and the use of the *cope*, &c., confined to Cathedral and Collegiate churches, and only the *surplice* required in Parochial churches.

And such seems to be the intention of subsequent directions from the authorities of the Church. For instance, in Archbishop Parker's Articles of Inquiry in 1569, the first has the inquiry,—“Whether the holy sacraments be likewise ministered reverently in such manner as by the laws of this realm, and by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and by the Advertisements set forth by public authority, is appointed and prescribed;” and the third,—“Whether your priests, curates, or ministers do use, in the time of the celebration of Divine Service, to wear a surplice, prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer.” (Wilk. iv. 257, 258; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 320, 321.)

And no other inquiry occurs respecting dress in these Articles.

Again, in the Canons of 1571 we find the following order, “Nullus nec Decanus, nec Archidiaconus, nec Residentiarius, nec Præpositus, nec Custos, nec Præfectus, alicujus Collegii, aut Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, nec Præses, nec Rector, nec quisquam ex illo ordine, quocunque nomine censeatur, utetur posthac amictu illo quem appellant Graium amicum, aut alia ulla veste simili superstitione contaminata. Sed in Ecclesiis quisque suis utentur tantum linea illa veste, quæ adhuc Regio mandato retinetur, et Scholastica Epomide, quæ suo cujusque Scholastico gradui et loco conveniat.” (Wilk. Conc. iv. 264; Cardw. Synod, i. 115, 116.) That is, according to the authorized translation published at the time,—“No Dean, nor Archdeacon, nor Residentiary, nor Master, nor Warden, nor Head of any College or Cathedral Church, neither President, nor Rector, nor any of that order, by what name soever they be called, shall hereafter wear the Graye Amice, or any other garment which hath been defiled with the like superstition. But every one of them shall

"wear only that linen garment which is as yet retained by the Queen's commandment, and also his scholar's hood, according to every man's calling and degree in school." (A Book of certain Canons, &c. Lond. 1571. p. 7.) The Latin shows that after the words "every one of them," ought to be added, "in his own church." This direction was not meant, I conceive, to exclude the cope, the use of which in *cathedral* churches was continued and prescribed after this, but only to make the surplice the ministering dress, (excluding, of course, the albe,) whatever might be worn over it. Nor does it exclude the gown for preaching, because in the Canon concerning preachers, in the same Book of Canons, the gown is prescribed for preachers, as I shall show presently.\*

Again, in Archbishop Whitgift's "Articles touching Preachers," &c., in 1584, it is ordered, (Art 4), "That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear, and use such kind of apparel, as is prescribed unto them by the Book of Advertisements, and her Majesty's Injunctions 'anno primo.'" (Wilk. iv. 307; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 413.) This, I conceive, *includes* the directions given for their dress in their public ministrations.†

And in an account given to the foreign Reformers by P.

\* It may be worth while quoting here, for the historical information it gives on the subject, a passage from a Letter of the Puritan Robert Johnson to Dr. Sandys, when the latter was Bishop of London in 1573 (whom he scurrilously styles "Superintendent of Popish corruptions in the Diocese of London"). He says,—“You must yield some reasons why the shaven crown is despised, and the square cap received: why the *tippet* is commanded, and the *stole* forbidden: why the *vestment* is put away, and the *cope* retained: why the *albe* is laid aside, and the *surplice* is used: or why the *chalice* is forbidden in the Bishop of Canterbury's Articles: or the *gray amice* by the Canon, more than the rest. What have they offended, or what impiety is in them more than the rest now commanded?” (A Part of a Register, 4to., p. 104.)

† The "Injunction" to which reference is made in this Article of Whitgift, and in those quoted above of Archbishop Parker, must be the 30th of the Injunctions of 1559 (published soon after the Book of Common Prayer and the Act of Uniformity), by which the prelates and clergy were ordered, "both in the church and without," to "use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the *latter* year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 186; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 193.)

Wyburn (a witness who certainly would not have concealed the fact of this Rubric being carried out,) of the "State of the Church of England" in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find him stating the case thus: — "In every church throughout England, during prayers, the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the *larger* churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment, which they call a cope, and two other ministers, formerly called the deacon and sub-deacon, must assist him to read the Epistle and Gospel." (Zurich Lett. Ser. ii. p. 361.)

Hence it would seem, that the Rubric of 1559 was considered as superseded by subsequent directions; and we know, from a Letter of Sandys to P. Martyr, in April 1, 1560, that it was the wish of at least some of our Reformers at that period that it should be. He says,—"Tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa papistica, (copas intellige,) quas diu non duraturas speramus." (Zurich Lett. Ser. i., Ep. 31, p. 43.) And it appears from a Letter of George Wither to Lord Burleigh in 1583, that some of the Bishops at that time signified their dissatisfaction with some things of this kind in the Prayer Book, to the foreign Reformers, and urged as an excuse their not being of the Parliament when the Book passed. He writes,— "The which things, [private baptism, and communion with one sick person,] with some others, in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, some of the Bishops then being were charged with by the learned of foreign churches. Who in this wise excused themselves, as I myself saw in their letters of answer, which by Mr. Bullinger and Gualter were showed me at Zurich a. 1567; namely, that they, nor none of them, were of the Parliament House at the passing of the Book; and that therefore they had no voice in making of the law: but after it was past, they being chosen to be bishops must either content themselves to take their places as things were, or else leave them to Papists, or *to them which are not much better, that is, to Lutherans*. But in the mean space they both promised not to urge their brethren to those doctrines;

“and also, when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them.” (Strype’s Ann. III. ii. 270.)\*

And consequently in Archbishop Grindal’s Articles of Inquiry for *Parish Churches*, in his Metropolitcal Visitation of the Province of Canterbury in 1576, we find in the 6th an inquiry, “whether all *vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles*,” &c., be destroyed; and in the 7th, “Whether your parson, vicar, curate, or minister do wear any *cope* in your parish church or chapel.” (Works, p. 159.)

But what are, of course, of far higher authority in the matter, are the directions given in the Canons of 1604, which are these:—

Can. 24. “*Copes to be worn in Cathedral Churches by those that administer the Communion.* In all Cathedral and Collegiate churches the holy communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days, sometimes by the Bishop, if he be present, and sometimes by the Dean, and at some times by a Canon or Prebendary, the principal minister using a decent *cope*, and being assisted with the Gospeller and Epistler agreeably according to the Advertisements published anno 7 Eliz.”

Can. 25. “*Surplices and hoods to be worn in Cathedral Churches, when there is no Communion.* In the time of Divine Service and Prayers in all Cathedral and Collegiate churches, when there is no Communion, it shall be sufficient to wear *surplices*; saying that all Deans, Masters and Heads of Collegiate churches, Canons and Prebendaries, being graduates, shall daily, at the times both of prayer and preaching, wear with their *surplices* such *hoods* as are agreeable to their degrees.”

Can. 58. “*Ministers reading Divine Service, and admi-*

\* A passage follows in this Letter, so appropriate to the present times, that (though it is on a different subject) I cannot refrain from quoting it. He says,—“The second sort of things, being taken out of the *Portuise*, and translated into the Book of Common Prayer, the Papists urge in that sense in the which they were used by themselves, from whom they were taken. And these expositions which we now give, they say, they are violent, and wrested from the true, native, natural, and ordinary sense. Whereby they make the IGNORANT believe that the Book favoureth divers of their errors. Which weapon I wish were pulled out of their hands.”

“*ministering the Sacraments, to wear surplices, and graduates therewithal hoods.* Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely *surplice* with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish. And if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the Ordinary. Furthermore, such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their *surplices*, at such times, such *hoods* as by the orders of the Universities are agreeable to their degrees, which no minister shall wear (being no graduate) under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding, it shall be lawful for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of *hoods*, some decent *tippetts* of black, so it be not silk.”

These Canons having been passed in Convocation, and ratified by the Crown, clearly show the intentions of our Ecclesiastical authorities at that period; while, nevertheless, the Rubric of Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer Book was still at that very time in the Book of Common Prayer as then authorized.

And as a proof that the directions of the Advertisements and Canons had beyond question *practically* superseded the Rubric, I would observe, that in all the Parochial Articles of Inquiry I have seen, even of Archbishop Laud and the Bishops of his party, I find no inquiry as to albes, vestments, copes, or tunicles. I will give one specimen of the Inquiries on this head from Mountagu’s Articles at Chichester in 1637. The 12th of the “Articles concerning Ministers,” &c. is,—“Doth your minister always and at every time, both morning and evening, reading Divine Service, and *administering the Sacraments* and other rites of the Church, *wear the surplice according to the Canons*, and doth he never omit wearing of the same at such times?” (Articles to be enquired of, &c., Lond. 1637, 4to.)

I must add, that both Dr. Bennet, in his “Paraphrase with Annotations on the Book of Common Prayer,” (2d ed. 1709, pp. 5—7,) and Archdeacon Sharp, in his Visitation Charges

respecting the Rubric and Canons (1753, 8vo, pp. 80, 81,) hold that our present Rubric also is to be limited by the "Advertisements" and the Canons of 1604.

Much, therefore, is to be said in favour of the *reasonableness* of following, even now, the course sanctioned by these Canons in the matter of Vestures.

And previous to the Prayer Book of 1662, it might perhaps fairly have been held, that the Rubric of the Prayer Book (which referred for its authority to the Act of Uniformity, that authorized orders on the subject given by the authority of the Queen, with the advice of the High Commissioners or the Metropolitan), was superseded by the directions of the "Advertisements" and Canons. But I admit that our present Rubric, which leaves out the reference to Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, and expressly enjoins the ornaments of King Edward's First Book, cannot be thus got rid of.

It will be observed, that the last quoted Canon requires graduates, in *all their public ministrations*, to wear over the surplice their appropriate *hoods*; and *permits* those who are not graduates to wear, instead of the hood, a *tippet* of black, "so it be not silk." I leave the question, as to what shape this "tippet" is to be, to those who are fond of such inquiries. Mr. Robertson thinks it to be the same with the *stole* or *scarf* now worn, but I doubt the correctness of this supposition.

Such are the directions that have been given in our Church on the subject of dress for the clergy in the public services of the Church. And it must be admitted that the matter is left in a very unsatisfactory state.

## (2.) *The Dress for Preaching.*

Unfortunately, no specific directions occur in the Rubric or Code of Canons now in force on this subject, and consequently great uncertainty has been felt as to what is the *legal* dress for preaching. My conclusion, from the various authorities that have come under my notice, is, that it was not intended by our Church at any time that surplices should be *required*



to be worn in preaching,\* nor that those who had not previously put it on for those ministrations in which it was required, should ever put it on expressly for preaching ; but nevertheless, that from the period of the Reformation it has been the custom in many places for it to be worn in preaching by those who have been wearing it in the previous part of the Service in which the sermon occurs ; and this custom has at times been sanctioned by the authority of individual Bishops. I am speaking of course more particularly of parochial churches ; but I believe that the same remark applies to the case of Cathedral Churches, *when* the preacher is *not* one of the clergy of the Cathedral. It must also, I think, be added, that from the want of any clear direction on the subject, it is one of those things that, in case of dispute, fall under the power of the Ordinary to determine in any particular case, according to the principle laid down in Section III. above, and this power has been exercised by various Bishops. It is much to be desired, however, that such a question should be set at rest by some definite direction of universal obligation.

I now proceed to give the authorities on which the above view of the subject is founded.

*That the surplice was not intended by our Reformers to be required to be worn in preaching, seems a necessary inference from the following passages.*

Archbishop Parker, in a Letter to the Secretary of State in 1566, writes, that “ whereas he had sent divers days three or “ four of his chaplains to serve in the greatest parishes, what for “ lack of *surplice* and wafer-bread, they did mostly *but preach*.” (Strype’s Parker, 225, or i. 449.) The lack of surplice, therefore, was of no consequence for preaching.

Again, in a Letter from John Abel to H. Bullinger, dated June 6, 1566, we find the following passage,—“ So rigid are

\* I speak only of the *surplice*, because it seems generally agreed that the use of the *albe*, though prescribed by King Edward’s First Prayer Book, was never revived in our Church after that Book had been superseded in 1552, notwithstanding the Rubric on ornaments. According to that Rubric, however, if the preacher is to wear the same dress in preaching as in reading the Communion Service, the proper vesture is the *albe*.

“ they in their opinion, that they have altogether given up their ecclesiastical vocation, and are therefore deposed from their ministry : which is greatly to be regretted, especially as they *need not put on a surplice when preaching.*” (Zurich Lett. Ser. 2, p. 118.)

Mr. Robertson also has pointed out a passage in Strype from a letter written by the Puritan Anthony Gilby in 1570, that clearly supports this view. He complains that the Bishops “ do make such a diversity between Christ’s word and his Sacraments, that they can think the word of God to be safely enough preached, and honourably enough handled, without cap, cope, or *surplice*, but that the sacraments, the marrying, the burying, the churching of women, and other church-service, as they call it, must needs be declared with crossing, with coping, with surplicing, with kneeling,” &c. (Annals II. 6, or II. i. 8, Oxf. ed. The Letter is taken from the work called “ A Part of a Register,” p. 12. I have adopted Mr. Robertson’s verbal emendation of Strype’s text in putting “ can” for “ cannot,” which, he justly observes, is required by the sense. I have not had an opportunity of consulting the original text in “ A Part of a Register,” my own copy of that very rare work having a few leaves missing just at the part where this Letter occurs.)

*But that the surplice has been worn in preaching by many (and with the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities), from the first period of the establishment of our Reformed Church at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, seems clear from the following passages.*

In a Letter of Dr. Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, to Sir W. Cecil, the Queen’s Secretary, sent with his revision of the Prayer Book in 1559, previous to its being confirmed by Parliament, we find him thus speaking,—“ Because it is sufficient to use but a *surplice* in baptizing, reading, *preaching*, and praying ; therefore, it is enough also for the celebrating the Communion.” (Strype’s Ann. I. App. xiv., or I. ii. 461, Oxf. ed.)

Again, Cartwright, in his Reply to Whitgift’s Answer to the

Admonition in 1573, observes,—“A man may rather reason, “that, forasmuch as they which preach with surplice, &c. “edify . . . if they preached without wearing any such thing, “they should edify much more.” (Reply to an Answer, &c. p. 78, 2d. ed.)

To this Whitgift replies thus,—“The laws of the Church “have prescribed this apparel to the ministers of the Word, as “decent, orderly, and comely: the same laws have inhibited “those to preach that refuse to submit themselves unto such “orders: wherefore, seeing they be appointed as fit garments “for preachers, and none may preach except he receive them, “they do edify,” &c. (Defence of the Answer to the Admonition 1574, fol. p. 288.)

These words of Whitgift must be understood as having reference to the garments generally, otherwise they would contradict the Canon passed just before in the Convocation of 1571. The explanation I believe to be, that the words are not to be interpreted as implying that the surplice *only* was admissible in preaching, but that the garments prescribed must be worn. Either surplices or gowns were to be worn in preaching, and the Puritans disliked the *prescribed* gown as much as the surplice,\* and it is very probable that, for convenience sake and economy, surplices were very commonly worn in preaching, by those who had to officiate in the church just before in that dress. Hence the surplice more particularly was spoken of as the prescribed dress. The Puritans wished to preach without *either*, as we learn from Cartwright's Second Reply to Whitgift, where he says,—“Within the “Church would not the Priest's gown suffice, without the “surplice? His surplice without the cope? His *preaching*, “and other ministerial function, *without them all?*” (The Rest of the Second Reply, &c. 1577, 4to, p. 252.)

Again, in a Puritan work entitled “A Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline,” &c., written probably by Walter Travers, we have the following passage,—“And

\* Mr. Robertson says,—“the gown was abhorred by the Genevating party, little, if at all, less than the surplice itself.” (p. 117.)

“whereas they allege also order and decency for their surplice, I would know why it should seem more comely and decent for a minister, that he should preach or pray in a surplice than in a gown. In white raiment than in black apparel.” (1574, 4to, p. 130.)

This may be taken as some evidence that the surplice was frequently used for preaching, but not to the exclusion of *all* gowns, because that would contradict the Canon of 1571, prescribing a dress for preaching, which I shall quote presently. As far only as *one* of the points mentioned, that is, *prayer*, is concerned, can the words be taken quite literally.

The same remark applies to the passage sometimes quoted from Hooker's Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity, first published in 1597, where he represents the Puritans as thus complaining to their congregations:—“Rather than that [*i. e.* “our pastoral charge”] shall be taken from us, we are resolved “to take this filth [*i. e.* the surplice], and to put it on, although we judge it to be so unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we *pray* or *preach* so arrayed before you, we do “as much as in us lieth to cast away your souls that are “weakminded, and to bring you unto endless perdition.” (Bk. 5. ch. 29. § 7.)

And we may observe, that when Hooker speaks of it himself, he calls it,—“that Church attire which with us for the most part is usual in *public prayer*.” (Ib. § 5.)

Another passage has been quoted in favour of the notion that surplices were required in preaching, from the examination of some Puritans before Grindal and other Commissioners, which states,—“When some of the Commissioners had urged “that they held the Reformation in King Edward's days, one “of them said, ‘They in King Edward's days never came so “far as to make a law that none should preach or minister “without these garments.’” (Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 119, or p. 176, Oxf. ed.) And this is made to refer to a notice in the previous page of the surplice and cope as worn by Grindal in St. Paul's. But this is clearly a mistake, because by the “Advertisements” the cope was only to be worn in cathedrals;

and by the account of the Examination, it is evident, that the objections made, were to the prescribed garments generally. The account of the Examination is to be found in "A Part of a Register," p. 23 et seq. And we find that when one of the Puritans complained, that the Pope's canon law and the will of the Prince were "preferred before the word and ordinance of Christ," and he was asked "what is so preferred," he replied, "Why that which is upon your head [the square cap] *and upon your back* [the gown,] your copes, and your surplices, and your laws, and ministers, because you will suffer none to preach, nor minister, except he wear them, *or subscribe to them.*" (p. 27.)

And in the next tract in this Collection, entitled "Certain Questions &c. against the Reasons for the Apparel and Ceremonies urged," we have the following passage:—"For the Bishops' gowns without sleeves, *and these wide gowns with large sleeves*, and surplices, were invented by the Pope, and pressed on the Roman Clergy, *Clem. 3, lib. 10.* Therefore he should worship God in vain, that should teach the wearing of *such garments.*" (p. 38.)

Again, in the "View of Antichrist, his Laws and Ceremonies in our English Church unreformed," in the same Collection, one of the "gross points of Popery evident to all men," (No. 21 of a list of 50) is "*the great wide-sleeved gown* commanded to the ministers, and the charge to wear those sleeves upon the arms, be the weather never so hot." (p. 63.)

It is evident, that this is the very gown now commonly known by the traditional name of *the preaching gown*. And, certainly, on a warm day that gown might *palliate* the Puritan exclamation, "be the weather never so hot."

The following passage also from a Puritan work of 1605 might be thought, at first sight, to prove that the surplice was necessary for preaching:—

"We again demand, what reason your Lordships can yield out of holy writ, that the ministers of the Gospel, when they approach to pray, to *preach the word*, and to administer the Sacraments, which are things for the people under the Gos-

“pel, should put upon them ministerial linen garments.” (Certain Demands with their Grounds, drawn out of Holy Writ. 1605. 4to. p. 9. And see p. 10.)

This might seem to imply, that a surplice was *required* in preaching, but the same work mentions copes, &c. in a similar way, the use of which we know was not required in the parochial clergy. And we cannot argue, from the loose complaints we find in these works, as to what the law was.

With respect to all these passages, it must be remembered, that the Puritans complained in these matters, not merely so far as concerned what they themselves were compelled to do, but as it respected what was allowed to be done by others.

And there can be no doubt, that individual Bishops have at various times, from an early period in our Reformed Church, availed themselves of their power as Ordinaries, in matters not precisely determined by the Church, to order the Surplice to be worn in preaching. It is clear from his own statement in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment against him in 1641, that Bp. Wren did this in his Diocese. (See *Parentalia* 1750, pp. 91, 92.) Dr. J. Towers, Bishop of Peterborough, also, issued an order in 1639, for the preacher at a Wednesday Lecture in St. James’s Chapel, Brackley, in his Diocese, to “go up into the pulpit in his surplice and hood.” (Prynne’s *Canterbury’s Doom*, p. 379.)

Bp. Cosin made a similar order for the whole of his diocese of Durham, and the practice was continued for many years; and it is noticed by Archdeacon Sharp, in the middle of the last century, as a *peculiarity* of custom belonging to that diocese, that there prevailed in it “the constant use of the surplice by all preachers in their pulpits,” which he traces to Bishop Cosin’s order. (Visitation Charges on the Rubric and Canons 1753, 8vo. p. 246.) The Archdeacon’s own opinion, however, is, that the order was a mistaken one. He thinks that “there is something in both [the Rubric and Canons] which would discourage, if not forbid, such a practice.” (Ib.)

*But a gown was a common dress for preachers from the first.*

For among the Articles proposed in the Lower House of

Convocation in 1562 was the following,—“That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away ; so that all ministers in their ministry use *a grave, comely, and side garment, as commonly they do in preaching.*” (Wilk. Conc. iv. 239.) It has been hinted, that this may refer to the case of preaching when the Common Prayer was not read. But the words are so general, that I see not how it is possible to limit them to that sense.

*And the only directions that are to be found respecting the dress of the parochial clergy when preaching, in Canons or Episcopal Injunctions, with the exception of those of some of the Laudian Bishops in the 17th century, order the gown to be worn.*

Thus in the Canons of 1571, it is ordered,—“Inter concionandum utentur veste quam maxime modesta et gravi, quæ debeat, atque ornet ministrum Dei, qualisque in libello Admonitionum descripta est.” De Concionat. (Wilk. iv. 267 ; Cardw. Synod. i. 127.) That is, according to the authorized translation published at the time,—“In preaching they shall wear a very modest and grave garment, which may become and set forth the minister of God, and such as is prescribed in the Book of Advertisements.” (A Book of certain Canons, &c., pp. 23, 24.)\* The order in the “Book of Advertisements” which is here referred to, must be that which is given in the part called “Articles for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical,” which prescribes a *gown*, varying only in some unimportant particulars according to the condition of the party.

Again, in 1629 we have an order, that Lecturers, after having read *Divine Service* in *surplice* and hood, are to *preach* in *gowns*. For in certain “Instructions” sent by Charles I. to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in that year, the second is,—“That every Bishop ordain in his diocese, That every Lecturer do read *Divine Service*, according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his *surplice* and hood before the Lecture;” and the third directs, “That where a

\* Mr. Robertson (p. 109) speaks of this Canon as if it referred only to “preachers licensed to itinerate.” This is not the case, as the commencement of the Canon shows.

"Lecture is set up in a Market Town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox divines near adjoining and in the same diocese, and that they *preach* in *gowns*, and not in cloaks, as too many do use." (Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.* Vol. i. Pt. 2, p. 30.) Here, then, is an express direction for a gown in preaching, even where the preacher has just before been ministering in his surplice. Instructions of the same kind were again issued by Charles I. in 1633, during the primacy of Laud; the only difference being, that instead of the word "gowns," was used the phrase "such seemly habits as belong to their degrees." (Wilk. *Conc.* iv. 480; Cardw. *Doc. Ann.* ii. 178.)

Again, in the Articles issued by Archbishop Laud in his Metropolitcal Visitation of several dioceses in 1635, the second Article of those headed "Concerning the Clergy" is,—“Whether have you any Lecturer in your Parish, who hath preached in his cloak, and not in his *gown*.” I quote this from the Articles sent to the dioceses of Worcester and Chichester.

A still more important authority, as being one that relates to *the Parochial Clergy*, is to be found in the Visitation Articles of Dr. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, in 1638. In the Articles "concerning the Clergy," the tenth is,—“Doth he [*i. e.* your minister], in celebration of Divine Service, use such vestments as are enjoined by authority; doth he constantly, in performing that duty, wear a surplice, and an hood (if he be a graduate) suitable to his degree?” And the twelfth is,—“Doth he *preach* in such a solemn habit as becomes him, in a *long gown and cassock*, not in a riding or ambulatory cloak?” (Articles to be inquired of, &c. Lond. 1638, 4to.)\* This is clear and decisive as far as the authority of this document goes, and Bishop Duppa is a very good authority on the subject.

\* From these and similar Articles we may observe the mistake of some who have interpreted the phrase, Divine Service, as necessarily including the Sermon, (as for instance, Bishop Wren, in his *Answ. to the Art. of Impeachment*), and have thereby obtained an argument for preaching in the surplice. Mr. Robertson (p. 113) points out several instances where the Sermon is spoken of as distinct from "ministration" or "Divine Service."



A similar direction may, perhaps, have been intended in the following Article in Bishop Mountagu's Articles for the Diocese of Norwich in 1638 :—" Doth your minister officiate " Divine Service in due place, upon set times, in the robes, " habit, and apparel of his order, with a surplice, an hood, a " gown, a tippet, not in a cloak or sleeveless jacket," &c. Tit. 5. Art. 16. (Articles of Enquiry and Direction for the Diocese of Norwich. Lond. 1638, 4to.) But the words are ambiguous.

It must be added, that by the Rubric on " ornaments," by which the directions of King Edward's first Prayer Book are sanctioned, the ministers of *Parochial* churches, as well as Cathedral, come under the rule of that Book of King Edward, that " it is seemly, that graduates, when they do preach, should use such *hoods* as pertaineth to their several degrees."

In Cathedral churches, Canon 25, of the Canons of 1604, appears to require the use of the surplice in preaching in the Clergy belonging to the Cathedral, and in Masters and Heads of Collegiate churches. (See the Canon, p. 37 above.) It would seem, however, that even in Laud's time this was not universally observed, for Bishop Wren, in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment, exhibited against him in 1641, only says,— " In Colleges also, and in the Cathedral and Collegiate " churches, the Fellows, Canons, and Prebends do *ordinarily* " preach in their surplices." (Parentalia, 1750. p. 91.)

## SECTION VIII.

IMAGES—THAT IS, STATUES OR PICTURES OF SAINTS, CRUCIFIXES, AND CROSSES—IN CHURCHES.

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THAT all these are forbidden in our churches, the following authorities abundantly prove; and they are forbidden on the ground that they have been worshipped, and that they have a tendency to lead to superstition and idolatry.

The first authority I shall quote is a Statute now in force, namely, the Act of 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, entitled "An Act for the abolishing and putting away of divers Books and Images," put forth soon after the Act of Uniformity.\* This Act clearly (from the language used) supposes that Images had been already pretty nearly removed from the Churches; as no doubt they had been, in consequence of the Injunctions, and the King's letter for removing them. But, in § 2, it enacts, that "if any person or persons. . . that now have, or hereafter " shall have, in his, her, or their custody, any the books or " writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any *images* of stone, " timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or *painted*, " which heretofore have been taken out of any church or " chapel, or *yet stand in any church or chapel*, and do not " before the last day of June next ensuing *deface and destroy*,

\* It will be observed, that no argument can be brought against this testimony from the Rubric on ornaments in our present Prayer Book, because we have already proved, that that Rubric only refers to the ornaments mentioned in the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI.

"or cause to be *defaced and destroyed*, the same images and "every of them," &c., they are to forfeit twenty shillings for the first offence, four pounds for the second, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure for the third. And the only limitation of this is the following Proviso in the last clause,— "Provided always, that this Act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any *image* or *picture* set or "graven upon any tomb in any church, chapel, or church-yard, only for a monument of any king, prince, nobleman, "or other dead person, *which hath not been commonly reputed and taken for a saint*, but that such *pictures* and "*images* may stand and continue," &c.

This Act was repealed in the first year of Queen Mary's reign, but the repealing Statute of Mary was itself repealed by Stat. 1 Jac. I., c. 25, § 48, and the above Act revived; and, as our learned Bishop T. Barlow remarks, in a little treatise on this very subject, "so remains still obligatory."\*

And it must be observed, that the Act extends to *pictures* as well as *statues*, under the name of images. But the Proviso in the last clause certainly indicates, that the prohibition, so far as concerns the images of persons, was more especially directed against the images of those who have been reputed and worshipped as *saints*. Of course, the *Crucifix* was included in the prohibition; and also the *Cross*, as having been the object of worship and adoration. The letter of Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, to Peter Martyr, written about Dec. 1559, shows that *both* were reckoned by our Reformers among the *images* that ought to be removed from churches. He says,— "By the "blessing of God, all those leading points of religion are restored to us, which we held in the time of King Edward. "Only we are compelled to tolerate in our churches, to our "great grief, the image of the Cross and of the Crucifix. The "Lord must be entreated that this stumbling-block may at

\* The Case of setting up Images in Churches, a tract to be found in Cases of Conscience resolved by Dr. T. Barlow, late Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Lond. 1692. 8vo.

"length be taken away."\* This was written at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and before she had consented to authorize the removal of *these* images from the churches; which, however, she was very soon induced to do. And the words certainly imply that they had been removed in King Edward's time.

Another prohibition of images, graven or painted, in our churches, obligatory upon us at the present time, is to be found in the Homily "Against Peril of Idolatry," in the Second Book of Homilies, published by authority in the year 1562, and enforced by the 35th of the XXXIX Articles.

The following extracts from this Homily will sufficiently show the mind of our Church in this matter.†

"Though some, to blind men's eyes, have heretofore craftily gone about to make them [*i. e.* idol and image,] to be taken for words of divers significations in matters of religion, and have therefore usually named the likeness or similitude of a thing set up amongst the heathen in their temples or other places, to be worshipped, an idol. But the like similitude with us, set up in the church, the place of worshipping, they call an image, as though these two words (*idol* and *image*) in Scripture, did differ in propriety and sense, which (as is aforesaid) differ only in sound and language, and in meaning be indeed all one, specially in the Scriptures and matters of religion. And our images also have been, and be, and if they be publicly suffered in churches and temples, ever will be also worshipped, and so idolatry committed to them, as in the last part of this Homily shall at large be declared and proved. Wherefore our images in temples and churches be indeed none other but idols, as unto the which idolatry hath been, is, and ever will be committed." (p. 189.)

"Therefore, although it is now commonly said, that they be the

\* *Reddita sunt nobis Dei beneficio omnia illa religionis capita, quæ D. Edvardi tempore tenuimus. Tantùm crucis crucifixique imaginem in templis tolerare cogimur, cum magno animorum nostrorum cruciatu. Rogandus est Dominus ut hoc demum scandalum auferatur.*" (Zurich Lett. Ser. i. Ep. 28, p. 38.)

† I quote from the Christian Knowledge Society's edition of 1833.

laymen's books, yet we see they teach no good ession, neither of God, nor godliness, but all error and wickedness. Therefore God by His word, as He forbiddeth any idols or images to be made or set up, so doth He command such as we find made and set up, to be pulled down, broken, and destroyed." (p. 196.)

"Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, a very holy and learned man, who lived in Theodosius the Emperor's time, about 390 years after our Saviour Christ's ascension, writeth thus to John, Patriarch of Jerusalem; 'I entered (saith Epiphanius) into a certain church to pray; I found there a linen cloth hanging in the church-door, painted, and having in it *the image of Christ*, as it were, or of *some other saint*; (for I remember not well whose image it was;) therefore, when I did see the image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ, *contrary to the authority of the Scriptures*, I did tear it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the church, that they should wind a poor man that was dead in the said cloth, and so bury him.' And afterwards the same Epiphanius, sending another unpainted cloth, for that painted one which he had torn, to the said patriarch, writeth thus: 'I pray you, will the elders of that place to receive this cloth which I have sent by this bearer, and command them that from henceforth no such painted cloths, contrary to our religion, be hanged in the Church of Christ. For it becometh your goodness rather to have this care, that you take away such scrupulosity, which is unfitting for the Church of Christ, and offensive to the people committed to your charge.' And this epistle, as worthy to be read of many, did St. Jerome himself translate into the Latin tongue. . . . Thus you see what authority St. Jerome, and that most antient history, give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius, whose judgment of images in churches and temples, then beginning by stealth to creep in, is worthy to be noted. First, he judged it contrary to Christian religion, and the authority of the Scriptures, to have *any images* in Christ's Church. Secondly, he rejected not only carved, graven, and molten images, but also *painted images* out of Christ's Church. Thirdly, that *he regarded not whether it were the image of Christ or of any other saint*; but being an image, would not suffer it in the Church. Fourthly, that he did not only remove it out of the Church, but with a vehement zeal tare it in sunder, and exhorted that a corpse should be wrapped and buried in it, judging

it meet for nothing but to rot in the earth, following herein the example of the good king Hezekiah, who brake the brazen serpent to pieces, and burned it to ashes, for that idolatry was committed to it. Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant Bishops to be careful that no images be permitted in the church, for that they be occasion of scruple and offence to the people committed to their charge. Now whereas neither St. Jerome, who did translate the same epistle, nor the authors of that most antient History Ecclesiastical Tripartite, (who do most highly commend Epiphanius, as is aforesaid), nor any other godly or learned Bishop at that time, or shortly after, have written anything against Epiphanius's judgment concerning images; it is an evident proof, that in those days, which were about 400 years after our Saviour Christ, there were no images publicly used and received in the Church of Christ, which was then much less corrupt and more pure than now it is. And whereas images began at that time secretly and by stealth to creep out of private men's houses into the churches, and that *first in painted cloths and walls*, such Bishops as were godly and vigilant, when they spied them, removed them away, as unlawful and contrary to Christian religion, as did here Epiphanius," &c. (pp. 205—207.)

"As the Jews . . . did by the example of the Gentiles or heathen people that dwelt about them, fall to the making of images and worshipping of them . . . so some of the Christians in old time, which were converted from worshipping of idols and false gods unto the true living God, and to our Saviour Jesus Christ, did of a certain *blind zeal* (and as men long accustomed to images), *paint or carve* images of *our Saviour Christ*, his mother Mary, and of the Apostles, thinking that this was a point of gratitude and kindness towards those by whom they had received the true knowledge of God and the doctrine of the Gospel. But these pictures or images came not yet into churches, nor were worshipped of a long time after." (pp. 210, 211.)

"A man may most justly wonder of images, so directly against God's holy word and strict commandment, how they should enter in. But images were not yet worshipped in Eusebius's time, nor publicly set up in churches and temples; and they who privately had them did err of a certain zeal, and not by malice: but afterwards they crept out of private houses into churches, and so bred

first superstition, and last of all idolatry amongst Christians, as hereafter shall appear." (p. 212.)

And after pointing out that the first paintings in churches were historical, it adds,—

"A process of a story, painted with the gestures and actions of many persons, and commonly the sum of the story written withal, hath another use in it, than one dumb doll or image standing by itself. But *from learning by painted stories, it came by little and little to idolatry*. Which when godly men (as well emperors and learned bishops as others) perceived, they commanded that such pictures, images, or idols, should be used no more." (p. 213.)

The Homily then proceeds to give the history of the rise and progress of image-worship in the Christian worship, and remarks,

"So hard is it, and indeed impossible, any long time to have images publicly in churches and temples without idolatry, as by the space of little more than 100 years betwixt Gregory I. forbidding most strictly the worshipping of images, and Gregory III., Paul and Leo III., Bishops of Rome, with this Council commanding and decreeing that images should be worshipped, most evidently appeareth." (p. 222.)

"The images of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, either severally, or the images of the Trinity, which we had in every church, be by the Scriptures expressly and directly forbidden and condemned." (p. 232.)

"To this they [the Romanists] reply, that, this reason notwithstanding, *images of Christ* may be made, for that He took upon him flesh, and became man. . . . And yet it appeareth that no image can be made of Christ, but a lying image, (as the Scripture peculiarly calleth images lies), for Christ is God and man. (Rom. i.) Seeing, therefore, that of the Godhead, which is the most excellent part, no images can be made, it is falsely called the image of Christ. Wherefore images of Christ be not only defects, but also lies. Which reason serveth also for the images of Saints, whose souls, the more excellent parts of them, can by no images be represented and expressed. Wherefore they be no images of

saints, whose souls reign in joy with God, but of the bodies of saints, which as yet lie putrified in the graves . . . . Wherefore, seeing that religion ought to be grounded upon truth, images, which cannot be without lies, ought not to be made, or put to any use of religion, or to be placed in churches and temples, places peculiarly appointed to true religion and service of God. And thus much, that no true image of God, our Saviour Christ, or His saints, can be made : wherewithal is also confuted that their allegation, that images be the laymen's books. For it is evident, by that which is afore rehearsed, that they teach no things of God, of our Saviour Christ, and of His saints, but lies and errors. Wherefore, either they be no books, or, if they be, they be false and lying books, the teachers of all error. And now if it should be admitted and granted, that an image of Christ should truly be made, yet it is unlawful that it should be made, yea, or that the image of any saint should be made, specially to be set up in temples, to the great and unavoidable danger of idolatry." (pp. 234—236.)

"We would admit and grant them, that images used for no religion, or superstition rather, we mean *images of none worshipped, nor in danger to be worshipped of any*, may be suffered. But images placed publicly in temples cannot possibly be without danger of worshipping and idolatry ; wherefore they are not publicly to be had or suffered in temples and churches." (p. 240.)

"Where they say that images, so they be not worshipped, as things indifferent may be tolerated in temples and churches ; we infer and say for the adversative, that all our images of God, our Saviour Christ, and His saints, publicly set up in churches and temples, places peculiarly appointed to the true worshipping of God, be *not things indifferent, nor tolerable, but against God's law and commandment*, taking their own interpretation and exposition of it. First, for that all images, so set up publicly, have been worshipped of the unlearned and simple sort shortly after they have been publicly so set up, and in conclusion, of the wise and learned also. Secondly, for that they are worshipped in sundry places now in our time also. And thirdly, for that it is impossible that images of God, of Christ, or His saints, can be suffered (specially in temples and churches) any while or space, without worshipping of them ; and that idolatry, which is most abominable before God, cannot possibly be escaped and avoided, without the abolishing and de-



struction of images and pictures in temples and churches, for that idolatry is to images, specially in temples and churches, an inseparable accident (as they term it); so that images in churches and idolatry go always both together, and that, therefore, the one cannot be avoided, except the other, specially in all public places, be destroyed . . . . Whereupon it followeth, that our images in churches have been, be, and ever will be, none other but abominable idols, and be therefore no things indifferent." (pp. 241, 242.)

"If answer be yet made, that this offence may be taken away by diligent and sincere doctrine and preaching of God's word, as by other means; and that images in churches and temples therefore be not things absolutely evil to all men, although dangerous to some; and therefore that it were to be holden, that the public having of them in churches and temples is not expedient, as a thing perilous, rather than unlawful, as a thing utterly wicked; then followeth the third article to be proved, which is this; That it is not possible, if images be suffered in churches and temples, either by preaching of God's word, or by any other means, to keep the people from worshipping of them, and so to avoid idolatry." (p. 258.)

"Notwithstanding Gregory's writing, and the preaching of others, images being once publicly set up in temples and churches, simple men and women shortly after fell on heaps to worshipping of them; and at the last the learned also were carried away with the public error, as with a violent stream or flood," &c. (p. 261.)

"To this end is come that beginning of setting up of images in churches, then judged harmless, in experience proved not only harmful, but exitious and pestilent, and to the destruction and subversion of all good religion universally. So that I conclude, as it may be *possible* in some one city, or little country, to have images set up in temples and churches, and yet idolatry, by earnest and continual preaching of God's true word, and the sincere Gospel of our Saviour Christ, may be kept away *for a short time*; so it is impossible that (images once set up and suffered in temples and churches) any great countries, much less the whole world, can any long time be kept from idolatry. And the godly will respect, not only their own city, country, and time, and the health of men of their age, but be careful for all places and times, and the salvation of men of all ages. At the least, they will not lay such stumbling-blocks and snares for the feet of other countrymen and ages, which

experience hath already proved to have been the ruin of the world." (p. 262.)

"Now, whereas they yet allege, that howsoever the people, princes, learned and wise, of old time, have fallen into idolatry by occasion of images, that yet in our time the most part, specially the learned and wise, of any authority, take no hurt nor offence by idols and images, neither do run into far countries to them and worship them; and that they know well what an idol or image is, and how to be used; and that therefore it followeth, images in churches and temples to be an indifferent thing, as the which of some is not abused, and that therefore they may justly hold (as was in the beginning of this part by them alleged), that it is not unlawful or wicked absolutely to have images in churches and temples, though it may, for the danger of the simple sort, seem to be not altogether expedient . . . [After urging in reply the case of Solomon and the example of Hezekiah breaking the brazen serpent, it concludes], Wherefore, they which thus reason, though it be not expedient, yet it is lawful to have images publicly, and do prove that lawfulness by a few picked and chosen men; if they object that indifferently to all men, which a very few can have without hurt and offence, they seem to take the multitude for vile souls, (as he saith in Virgil,) of whose loss and safeguard no reputation is to be had, for whom yet Christ paid as dearly, as for the mightiest prince, or the wisest and best learned in the earth . . . Besides this, if they be bishops, or parsons, or otherwise having charge of men's consciences, that thus reason,—It is lawful to have images publicly, though it be not expedient,—what manner of pastors show they themselves to be to their flock, which thrust unto them that which they themselves confess not to be expedient for them, but to the utter ruin of the souls committed to their charge, for whom they shall give a strict account before the Prince of pastors at the last day. For indeed, to object to the weak, and ready to fall of themselves, such stumbling-blocks, is a thing *not only not expedient, but unlawful, yea, and most wicked also.*" (pp. 271—274.)

So in the second part of the Homily on the right use of the Church, it is said of 2 Cor. vi. 15, 16,—

"It enforceth that no ungodliness, specially of images or idols, may be suffered in the temple of God, which is the place of

worshipping God ; and, therefore, can no more be suffered to stand there, than light can agree with darkness, or Christ with Belial." (p. 179.)

These few extracts will suffice to show, what the doctrine of our Church, as delivered in her Homilies, is on this subject. And it must be remembered, that, as far as concerns the general doctrine delivered in the Homilies, they are recognized by the 35th Article as containing a "godly and wholesome" doctrine, and consequently are so far of equal authority and force with the Articles themselves ; and therefore all the clergy have, in their subscription to the Articles, (a subscription required both by Canon and Statute law,) personally pledged their assent to the doctrine contained in them as "godly and wholesome," and promised to teach it to the people.

He, then, who maintains a contrary doctrine in our Church, maintains what is repugnant to the Articles he has subscribed, and is liable to excommunication by the 5th Canon, and to deprivation, if beneficed, by the Statute 13 Eliz. c. 12.

I need hardly observe, that although the *Cross*, as distinguished from the *Crucifix*, is not here specially named, it is included in the *argument* of the Homily, on account of the worship that has been rendered to it.\*

Having thus shown what is the doctrine of our Church upon the subject, as set forth both by the Statute and Canon Law now in force, I proceed to point out how this doctrine has been enforced by Royal and Episcopal Injunctions and Visitation Articles from the first year of Edward VI.

In the Injunctions set forth by Edward VI. in 1547, soon after his accession to the throne, the third is,—

"That such images as they know in any of their cures to be or

\* I would observe here, that I conceive there is a marked distinction between the cross as used on the exterior of a church as an ecclesiastical emblem, or otherwise in places or under circumstances where it is not likely to be the object of worship, and as placed on the communion-table or elsewhere within a church, in an isolated form, for the evident purpose of its being made an object of religious reverence, or, to those so disposed, of adoration.

to have been abused with pilgrimage or offering of any thing made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censured unto, they (and none other private persons) shall for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down, and destroy the same," &c. (Wilk. iv. 4 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 7.) And another is,—“ That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, *pictures, paintings*, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition ; so that there remain no memory of the same in *walls, glass windows*, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.” (Wilk. iv. 7 ; Cardw. ib. 17.)

This *limited* order for the abolition of images gave rise to much discussion and dissension in some places as to what images were to be removed, and what were to remain. Accordingly, in the latter part of the same year, the King, with the advice of his Council, sent a letter to the Archbishop to be transmitted to the Bishops, directing *all* images to be removed, in the following terms :—

“ Where now of late in the King's Majesty's Visitation, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highness' realm, one was set forth, for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings ; albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of the realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same . . . . considering, therefore, that almost in no places of this realm is any sure quietness, but where *all images be wholly taken away and pulled down already*, to the intent that all contention in every part of this realm for this matter may be clearly taken away, . . . we have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness' pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that *all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your*

*diocese be removed and taken away*, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the Bishops within your province his Highness' pleasure for the like order to be given by them, and every of them, within their several dioceses," &c. (Wilk. iv. 22; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 39—41.)

The date of the Archbishop's letter to the Bishops enclosing this letter is Feb. 4, 1547, (new style 1548).

Hence, in Archbishop Cranmer's Visitation Articles for his diocese in the same year, one is,—

"Whether they have not removed, taken away, and utterly extincted and destroyed in their churches, chapels, and houses, *all images*, all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, *pictures, paintings*, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in *walls, glass windows, or elsewhere*." (Wilk. iv. 23; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 42.)

A special prohibition of the *Cross* at funerals occurs in the Articles of 1549 of Edward VI. as follows,—

"Item, To receive no corpse but at the Churchyard, without bell or *cross*." Art. 6. (Wilk. iv. 32; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 64.)

Then came the Act of Parliament (just quoted) requiring all images that might remain in churches to be removed and destroyed.

And we find Bishop Ridley inquiring in his Visitation of the diocese of London in 1550,—“Whether there be any images in your church, tabernacles, shrines,” &c. (Wilk. iv. 61; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 80.)

These testimonies sufficiently show what was ordered and done in this matter in our Church in the time of Edward VI.

During the succeeding reign of Mary images were of course restored in the churches; and the Act of Parliament prohibiting them was repealed. So that on the accession of Queen Elizabeth this matter had again to be settled.

In the Injunctions issued by Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign we find no direct order for the removal of images from the churches, but only the following order as to superstitious pictures, &c. ;—

" 23. Also, That they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their churches and houses ; preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows ; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses." (Wilk. iv. 185 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 189.)

But nevertheless in the Visitation Articles of Queen Elizabeth, issued at the Visitation in the summer of 1559, we find the inquiry,—

"Item, Whether in their churches and chapels *all images*, shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, be removed, abolished, and destroyed." (Wilk. iv. 189 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 210.)

The discrepancy may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that Queen Elizabeth was not, at first, altogether disposed to remove *all* images from the churches ; and at the close of this year there was a discussion between the Queen and the Bishops, whether it should be required that all should be removed, as I shall presently show. It may seem strange, this being the case, that the Visitation Article should be so express on the subject. But it is clear, from a Letter of Dr. Sandys to P. Martyr, in April 1560, that the Article was enforced in respect to images. For when giving an account in this Letter of the controversy they had recently had with the Queen on the subject, he says :

"Some of us thought far otherwise [*i.e.* than the Queen], and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last Visitation not only removed, but also burnt, and that by public authority."\*

By the same Letter we learn, that he was one of the Visitors for

\* "Quidam ex nobis longe aliter judicabant [*i. e.* quam Regia Majestas] præsertim cum omnes omnis generis imagines in proxima nostra visitatione, idque publica auctoritate, non solum sublata, verum etiam combustæ erant." (Zur. Lett. Ser. i. Ep. 31, p. 42, *Lat.*)

the northern parts of England in the previous August, and was employed in the Visitation till the beginning of November.

And in the account of the Royal Visitation at St. Paul's in August 1559, in the original Register, we are told that "the Visitors also enjoined them, [*i. e.* the Dean and Chapter], that they should take care, that the Cathedral church should be purged and freed from all and singular their *images*, idols, and altars."\*

But notwithstanding what was done at this Visitation, it is certain, that, towards the close of the year, the leaders of the Reformed party feared, that the Queen intended to permit *some* images to remain in the churches, and accordingly they presented an address to her "against the use of images," in which they say :—

"Inasmuch as we have heretofore at sundry times made petition to your Majesty concerning the matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same; now, lest we should seem to say much and prove little, to allege consciences without the warrant of God, and unreasonably require that for the which we can give no reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious consideration, those authorities of the Scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which, as they have moved all such our brethren as now bear the office of bishops, to think and affirm images not expedient for the Church of Christ, so will they not *suffer us*, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences (which God deliver us from), *to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of worshipping*; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your Majesty, by your royal authority, and in the zeal of God, *utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the Church of England*, to God's great glory and our great comfort. . . . [And then, giving their arguments on the subject, they add] : We most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that, besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of the honourable Councillors, the establishing of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministries, as builders of the thing

\* Strype's Ann. I. 169; or I. i. 251.

which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly brother, and such notable fathers, as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who *by public law removed all images.*" (Wilk. iv. 196, 197 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 237, 241.)

The precise date of this address is not known, but it could not have been earlier than the latter end of December, as it speaks of those who "now bear the office of bishops," and Parker was not consecrated till December 17, 1559, but probably it was not much later, as the controversy was decided soon after that, as I shall presently show.

About the same period\* a remarkable Letter was sent by Cox, Bishop of Ely, to Queen Elizabeth, on the same subject, preserved to us by Strype ; from which I give the following extracts :—

"Most gracious Sovereign, Whom I, above other, divers ways am bound most dearly to love and honour, sith God by your Majesty hath placed me, and placed me to monish, to exhort, and to call upon, *opportune, importune*. In the trembling fear of God, in the bond of duty toward your highness, in the zeal of God's truth, which burdeneth and bindeth my conscience, I most humbly sue unto your like godly zeal, prostrate, and with wet eyes, that ye will vouchsafe to peruse the considerations, which move that I dare not minister in your Grace's chapel, the *lights* and *cross* remaining. The Scripture saith, in the place where God gave His commandments, He suffered no similitude, nor likeness of anything to be seen. And in his second commandment He forbade *both the making of images*, and the worshipping them also, and that upon a grievous plague. How durst man, dust and ashes, for any respect set up an image in the temple of God? *Your Majesty's learned and godly clergy of your realm do think this commandment of God indispensable.* . . . . Tender my suit, I beseech you, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, my dear sovereign and most gracious queen Elizabeth.

\* It is not dated ; but as it is directed not *merely* against the retention of such things in her Majesty's chapel, (where they were retained for several years), but also against their retention in churches, it must have been written about this time.



*"Certain considerations, which move me that I cannot yield to have images set up in churches.*

"I. The second commandment containeth two prohibitions: The one, 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, &c.,' The second, 'Thou shalt not adore them, nor worship them.' And this second appeareth to be the cause of the first: for *images are forbidden for fear of adoration*. And to the intent we should understand the law thus to be meant, and *to have no images in the church*, where God is chiefly to be honoured, God himself saith (Deut. 4.), 'When ye were gathered together to honour me and to learn my laws in the Mount Sinai, ye saw no image, nor likeness of any thing, lest being deceived ye should have worshipped them.' *Which giveth me to understand, that in place of worshipping there should be no images.*"

And then, after having added some other reasons, he says,—

"I therefore, a miserable man, dust and clay, having these and such like considerations before mine eyes, cannot, without offence of God and conscience, yield to the setting up of images in the temple of my God and Creator," &c. &c.\*

The progress of this matter will be best understood from the following extracts from letters sent by our Reformers here to their friends abroad.

The first is a passage (already quoted) in a letter from Bishop Cox to Peter Martyr, written about Dec. 1559.†

"By the blessing of God, all those heads of religion are restored to us which we held in the time of King Edward. Only we are compelled, to our great grief, to tolerate in our churches the image of the cross and of the crucifix. The Lord must be entreated that this stumbling-block may at length be taken away."‡

On the following Jan. 6, 1559 (n. s. 1560), we find T. Sampson writing to P. Martyr in similar terms. He says—

"Oh! my father, what can I hope for, when the ministry of

\* Strype's Ann. I. Append. No. 22, p. 59 et seq., or I. ii. p. 500 et seq. Oxf. ed.

† It is not dated, but it could not have been written before Dec. 21, 1559, because Cox was not consecrated bishop of Ely till that time.

‡ For the Latin, see p. 51, above.

Christ is banished from the Court, but the image of the crucifix is admitted with lights burning. The altars indeed are removed, *and the images, throughout the whole kingdom; in the Court alone the image of the crucifix with candles is retained*; and the wretched multitude not only willingly hears that such is the case, but will of their own accord imitate it. What can I hope, when three of our new bishops, one as priest, another as deacon, a third as sub-deacon, are to stand at the table of the Lord, before an image of the crucifix, or at least within a short distance of the idol, with candles, adorned with the golden garments of the Papacy, and thus minister the Holy Supper of the Lord without any sermon? . . . . I will propose this single question for your resolution: I wish, my father, to use you as my medium of communication with M. Bullinger and M. Bernardine. It is this—whether an image of a crucifix placed upon the table of the Lord with candles lighted, whether, I say, this is to be reckoned among things indifferent. If it is not, but is to be considered a thing unlawful and wicked, then I ask: if the Prince should enjoin all bishops and pastors either to admit into their churches an image with candles, or to give up their Christian ministry, what ought in such a case to be done? ”\*

I quote this, of course, merely as historical evidence of the facts of the case.

In the following month (Feb. 1559, n.s. 1560) a public disputation was appointed to be held on the subject, as we learn

\* O mi pater! quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex aula Christi ministerium, admittatur autem crucifixi imago cum accensis luminaribus? Altaria quidem sunt direpta et imagines per totum regnum: in sola aula crucifixi imago cum candelis retinetur; et miser popellus id non solum libenter audit, sed etiam sponte imitabitur. Quid ego sperem, ubi tres ex novitiis nostris episcopis, unus veluti sacer minister, secundus loco diaconi, tertius subdiaconi loco, mensæ Domini astabunt, coram imagine crucifixi, vel certe non procul sito idolo, cum candelis, ornati aureis vestibus papisticis, sicque sacram Domini cœnam porrigent sine ulla concione? . . . . Unicam hanc a vobis questionem proponam solvendam: mi pater, te volo uti mediatore apud D. Bullingerum et D. Bernardinum. Hæc est, num imago crucifixi cum candelis accensis in mensa Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter adiaphora ponenda? Si non sit, sed pro re illicita et nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quero: si princeps ita iungat omnibus episcopis et pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas ecclesias imaginem cum candelis, vel ministerio Christi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit? (Zur. Lett. Ser. i. Ep. 27, p. 36.)

from the following passage in a letter of Bishop Jewell to P. Martyr.

“The controversy about the cross is now raging. You would scarcely believe to what a degree of madness men who seemed to possess some wisdom are carried in this foolish business. There is none of them whom you know except Cox. The disputation on this matter will commence to-morrow. The moderators will be certain men selected out of the Council. The disputants on one side will be the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cox;\* on the other, Grindal, Bishop of London, and myself. The decision rests with the judges. But I smile when I think, with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross. But whatever it shall be, I will write hereafter more fully; for the controversy is now in the hands of the judge: yet, as far as I can foresee, I shall not write to you hereafter as a Bishop. For things have come to that pass, that either the silver and tin crosses, *which we have everywhere broken to pieces*, must be restored, or our bishoprics relinquished.”†

The result, however, of this disputation was different from what Bishop Jewell had feared it might be. For in a Letter of Bishop Sandys to P. Martyr, written on April 1, 1560, we find the following passage:—

“There was lately some controversy respecting images. The Queen considered it would be not contrary to the word of God,

\* From Cox’s Letter to the Queen, quoted above, and also his Letter to P. Martyr, written after Dec. 21, 1559, it is clear, that these disputants were not selected as being advocates of the use of the cross and crucifix, but merely as learned men, to say what could be said in favour of the practice, in order that the matter might be thoroughly discussed.

† Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui aliquid sapere videbantur, insaniant. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re disputatio. Arbitri erunt ex senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis episcopus et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κείται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi et quam gravibus et solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus; nunc enim sub iudice lis est: tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te episcopus. Eo enim jam res pervenit, ut aut cruces argentæ et stannæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus relinquendi.” (Zur. Lett. Ser. i.; Ep. 29. p. 39.)

may, for the benefit of the Church, if the image of Christ crucified, together with Mary and John, should be put, as used to be the custom, in a prominent part of the church, where it might be most easily seen by all the people. Some of us thought far otherwise, especially since all images of every kind were, in our last Visitation, not only removed, but also burnt, and that by public authority; and because to this idol beyond the rest adoration is accustomed to be offered by the ignorant and superstitious multitude. I, because I was very vehement in the matter, and would not by any means consent that an occasion of stumbling should be afforded to the Church of Christ, was near being removed from my office, and incurring the displeasure of my sovereign; *but God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, gave us peace instead of trouble, and delivered the Church of England from stumbling-blocks of this kind.* There *only remain* in our Church those Popish garments (I mean copes), which we hope will not continue long.”\*

Thus terminated the controversy respecting the use of the crucifix and cross, so far as the public churches of the kingdom were concerned; though it appears that the Queen still retained the crucifix in her own chapel. And this is the conclusion to which our careful and laborious ecclesiastical historian, Strype, came. “It is certain,” he says, “these crucifixes and roods [crosses] were taken down by authority in all the churches, yet the crucifix remained in the Queen’s chapel afterwards.” (Ann. I. 176; or I. i. 262.)

\* De imaginibus jam pridem nonnihil erat controversiæ. Regia Majestas non alienum esse a verbo Dei, imo in commodum Ecclesiæ fore putabat, si imago Christi crucifixi una cum Maria et Johanne, ut solet, in celebriori ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni populo facillime conspiceretur. Quidam ex nobis longe aliter judicabant, præsertim cum omnes omnis generis imagines in proxima nostra visitatione, idque publica auctoritate, non solum sublatae, verum etiam combustæ erant; cumque huic idolo præ cæteris ab ignara et superstitiosa plebe adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus occasio Ecclesiæ Christi daretur, non multum aberat quin et ab officio amoverer, et principis indignationem incurrerem: at Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, pro tempestate tranquillitatem dedit, et Ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit. Tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa Papistica (copas intellige) quas diu non duraturas speramus. (Zur. Lett. Ser. i., Ep. 31, p. 42, 43.)

The use of the crucifix was retained by the Queen for several years ; and to this one exception probably it is owing that the crucifix, or at least the cross, stealthily maintained its ground in a few churches, and was afterwards revived in various churches by the Laudian party in the next century.

To the removal of the cross from the churches we have the testimony of Dr. J. Calfhill,\* in his Answer to Martial's Treatise of the Cross. Martial, a student in divinity at Louvain, presuming upon the Queen's retention of the crucifix in her chapel, dedicated a book called "A Treatise of the Cross," to her. Hence Dr. Calfhill, in the Epistle prefixed to his "Answer," observes :—

"As for her private doings, neither are they to be drawn as a precedent for all ; nor any ought to creep into the Prince's bosom, of every fact to judge an affection. This can the world well witness with me, that neither her Grace and Wisdom hath such affiance in the Cross as you do fondly teach ; *neither takes it expedient her subjects should have that which she herself (she thinketh) may keep without offence.* For the multitude is easily, through ignorance, abused : her Majesty, too well instructed for her own person to fall into Popish error and idolatry. Now for that which followeth, if ye were so good a subject as you ought, and framed yourself to live according to the laws, ye should see and consider how good order is taken '*by public authority, not privy suggestions, that Roods and Images should be removed, according to God's law, out of churches, chapels, and oratories.*'"†

The view of Dr. Calfhill himself on the subject is briefly expressed in the following passage of his Treatise,—

"Let the sign of the Cross be cast out of the Church, and the Cross itself be preached simply : lest, by suffering the sign of the Cross to stand, the Son of God crucified be contemned ; and we fall to worshipping of a cross material, which in the next article shall be proved damnable."‡

In the year 1569 we have the following article of inquiry

\* He was Archdeacon of Colchester, and nominated in 1570 to the Bishopric of Worcester, but died before consecration.

† pp. 7, 8, Parker Society's Edition, 1846.

‡ p. 365.

among those of Archbishop Parker in his Visitation of the Diocese of Canterbury in that year :—

“ VI. Item, Whether images, and all other monuments of idolatry and superstition, be destroyed and abolished in your several parishes.” (Wilk. Conc. iv. 258; Cardw. Doc. Ann, i. 321.)

And the Archbishop did what he could to prevent the crucifix being admitted by the Queen into her chapel, for under the year 1570 Strype gives the following account :—

“ The crucifix, which had been before removed out of the Queen’s chapel, was now of late brought in again ; which gave great disgust among the people, and caused much discourse. And this was presently laid to the charge of the Archbishop, as though he had been the Queen’s counsellor herein. Which report was made, it seems, by some noblemen. *Though the good Prelate, but some years before, had earnestly, with some other bishops, persuaded her Majesty not to allow that image in her chapel.* By which means it seems to have been then removed thence. This report coming to his ears, he writ thus to the Secretary, complaining, ‘ That any nobleman in England should impute it to his doing, that the cross was brought into the chapel again. So that I perceive (saith he) they will load me with envy. But certainly I never knew of it : *nor yet, in good faith, I think it expedient it should be restored.*’ ”\*

The reluctance of some parties to destroy things of this kind, and the care of the Bishops and Royal Commissioners to effect their destruction, may be illustrated by a letter of Horn, Bishop of Winchester, dated July 19, 1570, to Trinity College, Oxford, ordering “ the removal of superstitious ornaments from the chapel,” in which he says,—

“ Whereas I am informed that certain monuments tending to idolatry and Popish or Devil’s service, as Crosses, Censers, and such like filthy stuff used in the idolatrous temple, more meeter for the same than for the house of God, remaineth in your College as yet unfaced, I am moved thereby to judge great want of good will in some of you, and no less negligence in other some, as in being so remiss to perform your duties towards God and obedience

\* Strype’s Parker, 310, or ii. 35, 36, Oxf. ed.

unto the Prince." And then he proceeds to order them immediately "to deface all manner such trash," "and further to have in mind the motion made by the grand commissioners."\*

These last words refer to a letter, dated June 28, from the Royal Commissioners to the College on the same subject, ordering them to "cause to be defaced all the church plate "and church stuff belonging to your College, in such sort "that it never may be used again as it hath been." The names of the Commissioners are T. Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; L. Humphrie, President of Magdalene; H. Westphalinge, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and W. Cole.†

In the Canons of 1571, also, we find the following among other directions given to Churchwardens:—

"Moreover they shall see, that all roodlofts, *in which wooden crosses stood*, and all other relics of superstition, be clean taken away, that the walls of the churches be new whited, and decked with chosen sentences of the Holy Scripture, that by the reading and warning thereof, the people may be moved to godliness."‡

In the same year, among the Injunctions given by Archbishop Grindal, in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Province of York, we find the following among those to the Laity:—

"7. Item, That the churchwardens and minister shall see . . . that all vestments, albes . . . censers, chrismatories, *crosses, candlesticks*, holy water stocks, or fat *images*, and all other relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry, be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed." (Works, pp. 135, 136.)

And again the same Prelate, when Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Province of Canterbury in 1576, inquires,—

"Whether all vestments, albes . . . censers, chrismatories, *crosses, candlesticks*, holy-water stocks, *images*, and such other

\* See Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, Lond. 1772. 8vo. Append. No. xix. p. 333.

† See the Letter, *ibid.* No. xx. p. 337.

‡ A Book of certain Canons, &c. Lond. 1571. 4to. p. 19. For the Latin, see Wilk. Conc. iv. 266, or Cardw. Synod. i. 123.

relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry, be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed." (Works, p. 159.)

Further, the testimonies of Bishop Jewell and Archbishop Whitgift are quite decisive as to the doctrine and practice of our Church on this subject, for many years after its settlement under Queen Elizabeth.

Bishop Jewell, in his "Apology," (a work which, Bishop Randolph says, "was always understood to speak the sense of the whole Church in whose name it is written,")\* quotes against the Papists the testimonies of the Council of Eliberis (Elvira) and Epiphanius as follows,—“The old Council Eliberine made a decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in the churches. The old father Epiphanius saith: ‘It is a horrible wickedness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the church of the Christians, yea though it were the picture of Christ himself.’” And enlarging upon this passage in the Defence of the Apology, he remarks,—“If the image of Christ may not be suffered in the church of Christ, what image then may be suffered?” †

Again, in his Reply to Harding, (first published in 1565) in which he takes up expressly the subject of images, we find the following passages:—

“I grant, images were erected in some churches within six hundred years after Christ, albeit neither so rathe, as it is pretended, *nor without much repining of godly men and great contention.*” ‡

“By these Fathers’ judgment it is plain, that by setting up of images God’s commandment is broken.” §

“Notwithstanding it *were* sufferable to have images in the Church of God, without breach of God’s Law, yet when they be abused, and made idols, as they are throughout the whole Church of Rome, it is the duty of godly magistrates to pull them down.” ||

And in reply to Harding’s reference to the sign of the

\* Preface to his *Enchiridion Theolog.* vol. i.

† Defence of Apol. pp. 446—8, in Works, 1611, fol.

‡ Reply to Harding, &c. p. 386. In his Works, 1611.

§ Ib.

|| Ib. p. 370.



Cross that appeared to Constantine, and the way in which that sign was used in banners, &c., he replies,—

“Notwithstanding all this long discourse, and great ado, yet is it not hitherto any way proved, either that this cross was an image, *or that it was set up in any church*, or that it was adored of the people. . . . . Seeing therefore none of all these crosses that M. Harding hath here found out, either had any image hanging on it, *or was erected in any church*, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead to serve his purpose ?”\*

“The first and chief cause and end of images is, as it is here pretended, that the people by the sight thereof may attain knowledge. . . . . Howbeit, this seemeth to be no very handsome way to teach the people. . . . . And although perhaps the people may happily learn somewhat by these means, yet is not this the ordinary way whereby God hath appointed the people to attain knowledge. St. Paul saith : *Fides ex auditu* : ‘Faith cometh (not by seeing or gazing, but) by hearing.’ There were many simple, rude, and unlearned lay men among the Jews : yet God never set up any such books for them to read : but contrariwise evermore forbad them, and cried against them, and would not suffer them. If this be so speedy and so ready a way to teach the people, how happeneth it, that where as is greatest store of such schoolmasters, there the people is evermore most ignorant, most superstitious, and most subject to idolatry ? But to conclude ; the prophets Habakkuk and Jeremiah say : *Conflatile est demonstratio mendacii : Lignum est doctrina vanitatis* ; (Hab. ii., Jer. x.) : *A molten idol is a lesson of lies : and (M. Harding’s) wooden image is a doctrine of vanity.*”†

“Every thing that may delight or move the mind is not therefore meet for the Church of God. God’s house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing.”‡

“The best remedy in this behalf, [i. e. to prevent the idolatrous worship of images] and most agreeable with God’s word, is *utterly to abolish the cause of the ill*. So the godly king Ezechias took down and brake in pieces the brazen serpent, notwithstanding Moses himself, by God’s special commandment, had erected it ; notwithstanding it were an express figure of Christ hanging upon the cross ; notwithstanding it had continued so many years ; notwith-

\* Ib. p. 372.

† Ib p. 378.

‡ Ib. p. 379.

standing God by it had wrought so many miracles. So the godly bishop Epiphanius rent in sunder the image of Christ painted in a cloth, and said, It was against God's commandment, a thing superstitious, and unmeet for the church and people o God; notwithstanding it were the image of Christ. So the godly Emperor Theodosius made his proclamation over all his dominions in this sort :—*Signum Servatoris nostri, quocunque loco reperitur, tolli jubemus : We straitly command, that the image of our Saviour be taken down, in what place soever it shall be found ;* notwithstanding it were the image of our Saviour. So it is decreed in the late Council of *Mens*, that, when images happen to be abused by the people, they be either notably altered, or utterly abolished. Neither doth God throughout all his Holy Scriptures anywhere condemn image-breakers; but expressly and everywhere he condemneth image-worshippers and image-makers. God saith, *They are snares to catch the ignorant.* He knoweth the inclination of the heart of man. And therefore he saith, *Accursed be he, that leadeth the blind out of his way : and, Accursed be he, that layeth a stumbling-block to overthrow the blind.*"\*

Similar sentiments may be found in his sermon on Hagg. i. 2—4. (Serm. p. 174 in his Works.)

Thus also speaks Archbishop Whitgift in 1574; in a passage already quoted in p. 27, above.

"As for Papists, we are far enough off from them, for they pictured the sign of the cross and did worship it, so do not we : . . . they had it in their churches, SO HAVE NOT WE."

And elsewhere in the same work, he says,—

"As there is great difference betwixt the painting of an image, to set forth a history, and placing of it in the church to be worshipped, so is there also as great difference, or more, betwixt crossing a child in the forehead at the time of baptism, with expressing the cause and use of it, and *the placing of crosses in churches or highways and streets.* The crossing of the child's forehead is but for a moment, the cross of wood and stone remaineth and continueth: the cross in the child's forehead is not made to be adored and worshipped, neither was ever any man so mad, as to imagine

\* Ib. p. 383.

any such thing of it : *but the crosses in churches, streets, and highways*, of metal and wood, were erected to be worshipped, and were so accordingly, and *therefore there is no like peril in the one as THERE IS IN THE OTHER.*"\*

Another decisive testimony is that of King James I., in the Hampton Court Conference in 1603. Addressing the Puritans on the subject of the cross in baptism, he remarks :—

"Fourthly, you see that *the material crosses*, which in time of Popery were made for men to fall down before them, as they passed by them, to worship them, (as the idolatrous Jews did the brazen serpent) **ARE DEMOLISHED, AS YOU DESIRE.**"†

The last testimony I shall quote, is the admission of a zealous Puritan (who filled a folio volume with his arguments against our Church's use of the cross in baptism), that material crosses were removed from the churches.

He represents his opponents as speaking of "God's commandment being satisfied by *the pulling down* of altars, shrines, *images, crucifixes, and material crosses*, with which we would *content ourselves* (say our opposites) if there were any reason in us, sith the idolatry of the Papists is by these means sufficiently disgraced."‡ And the removal of these crosses he admits; observing, among other remarks: "What though the *material crosses done away by our Church*, were every way worse? To remove the material cross, and to leave the mystical behind in God's service, is to break the hand of Dagon, not the head."§ And again: "Whereas the *abolishing of the cross material* is thought to throw disgrace sufficient upon the mystical cross of Popery, we are most humbly to intreat our godly governors," &c.||

The fact of their removal and abolition, then, by our Church, can hardly be denied, when it is admitted by such a writer.

\* Whitgift's Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, p. 619.

† Dr. Barlow's Account of the Conference in Cardw. Conf. p. 200.

‡ Parker's Scholastical Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in ceremonies, especially in the sign of the Cross. Lond. 1607. fol., p. 46.

§ Ib. p. 48.

|| Ib. p. 49.

The doctrine of our Church on this subject, therefore, is beyond question. Nor does the attempt of the Laudian bishops in the middle of the 17th century to revive the use of crosses, &c., in our churches, (which was defended greatly by the example set in the Royal chapel, and other privileged places) at all shake the argument against it grounded upon the authorities and testimonies given above; and therefore of their proceedings no notice need be taken.

Much might easily be added on this head. But I will only adduce one more testimony of modern date, shewing how decided has been the feeling in our Church on the subject, even within a comparatively recent period, and in the case of those whom no one will accuse of being inclined to Puritanism. In the year 1773, some of the Royal Academicians offered their services for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral with paintings representing Scripture histories.

"But the trustees of the fabric, the Archbishop of Canterbury [Fred. Cornwallis] and the Bishop of London [Terrick] disapproved the measure. Bishop Terrick, both as trustee of the fabric and as Bishop of the diocese, *strenuously opposed it*; whether he took it amiss that the proposal was not first made to him, and by him the intelligence conveyed to his Majesty, [a somewhat unfair suggestion from an adverse party, especially as the Archbishop took the same view], or whether he was really afraid, *as he said*, that it would occasion a great noise and clamour against it as an artful introduction of Popery. Whatever were his reasons, *it must be acknowledged, that some other serious persons disapproved the setting up of pictures in churches.*"\*

If such was the feeling with respect to historical pictures, there needs no proof what would have been the reception given to an attempt to restore anything that had been in Popish times an object of worship.

\* Life of Bishop T. Newton, p. 107 in his Works, 1782. 4to. vol. i.

## SECTION IX.

## LIGHTS ON THE COMMUNION TABLE.

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A NOTION appears to prevail in some quarters, that our Church sanctions, if not enjoins, the practice of having two lights upon the Communion Table at the time of the administration of the Holy Communion. The authority for this notion is the Rubric at the commencement of the Book of Common Prayer, the meaning and extent of which I have already pointed out in Section II. above, and shown that it sanctions only those ornaments that were prescribed by the first Common Prayer Book of Edward VI. Consequently, lights upon the Communion Table not being among the ornaments sanctioned by that Book, are not included in those enjoined by the Rubric; and this Rubric being the only authority for them, the question respecting the legality of the practice is at once determined.

But it is desirable to enter into the matter a little more fully.

The practice is derived from one of the Injunctions issued by Edward VI. in 1547, which orders that all "ecclesiastical persons" "shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor "candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set afore any image or "picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the "sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very "true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 4; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 7.) And in Cranmer's Articles of Visitation, set forth in the same year, there is the inquiry, "Whether they suffer any torches, candles, "tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only

“two lights upon the high altar.” (Wilk. Conc. iv. 23 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 43.)

Now I will not stop to discuss the question whether the practice here sanctioned is precisely that for which some are now contending. Into that question it is unnecessary to enter,\* because the Injunction has not in any way, directly or indirectly, any force at the present day ; and, in fact, retained its force for a very brief period, as I shall proceed to shew.

The argument for the Injunction being still obligatory is, that these Injunctions were equivalent to an Act of Parliament, as Proclamations coming under the provisions of the Act 31 Henr. VIII. c. 8, and consequently had the “authority of Parliament” in the second year of Edw. VI. ; and, therefore, what is ordered in them has the sanction of the Rubric at the commencement of the Book of Common Prayer.† I have already shewn (p. 12 above) that these Injunctions never were equivalent to an Act of Parliament ; nor had they in any way the sanction of Parliament. Consequently, their directions can derive no authority from the Rubric in question, and are therefore altogether destitute of force at the present day.

Nor can the practice be defended on the ground of custom,

\* Mr. Robertson (l. c. p. 80) supposes that these lights were lights placed before the pyx in which the sacrament was reserved, and had nothing to do with the consecration of the sacrament. I cannot consider this to be the meaning of the direction, inasmuch as the order would hardly have been for more than *one* light in that case, the Romanists themselves scarcely ever using more for that purpose. At any rate, the order seems to *include* the period of the consecration of the sacrament.

† Wheatley, in his “Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer,” (p. 109, 6th ed.) has made the singular mistake of maintaining the authority of the Injunctions on the ground that they were ratified by the same Act of Parliament that authorized the Prayer Book. But of this the Act itself is the best refutation. He has also entirely misapprehended the direction itself ; for he speaks of their being used in cathedrals when “divine service is performed by candle light,” and that they “ought to be used in all parish churches and chapels at the same times.” But the direction was, that they were to be “before the sacrament,” and the sacrament is ordinarily administered by daylight. And it is this religious, or rather superstitious, use of them in connexion with the sacrament, which is objectionable. No one, I suppose, would object to any number of lights being placed upon the communion table for the purpose of lighting the church, when “divine service is performed by candle light.”

because the Acts of Uniformity limit us to the observances laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. (See Sect. I. above.)

And further, with respect to this particular practice, we have express testimony, that it was one of those ceremonies which, even under the first Book of Common Prayer of Edw. VI., were "abolished" and "put away."

For in one of the Visitation Articles issued by Royal authority, just after this Prayer Book was put forth (which I have quoted in full, p. 5 above), we find the practice expressly forbidden, and forbidden as one of those not appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; the Article running thus: "Item for an Uniformity, That no minister do counterfeit the Popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table, washing his fingers . . . . [enumerating various practices] . . . . or *setting any light upon the Lord's board* AT ANY TIME; and *finally, to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers*, or kneeling otherwise than is in the said Book." (Wilk. iv. 32, from Burnet H. R. ii. App. 165; or Cardwell's Doc. Ann. i. 63, 64.) Here we have a clear proof, that it was held at the time, that "*setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time*," was a ceremony *not* appointed by this Book of Common Prayer authorized by Parliament 2 Edw. VI., and was therefore by the terms of the Act *not to be used*. And accordingly in the first of these Articles it is ordered, "That all parsons, vicars, and curates *omit* in the reading of the Injunctions all such as make mention of the Popish mass, of chantries, of *candles upon the altar*, or any other such like thing." (Ib.)

These two Articles are repeated nearly *verbatim* in Bishop Ridley's Injunctions in his Visitation of the Diocese of London in 1550, as follows:—

"1. That there be no reading of such Injunctions as extollet and setteth forth the Popish mass, candles, images, chantries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions."

"Item, That no minister do counterfeit the Popish mass in

kissing the Lord's board . . . [here follows an enumeration of various Popish practices] . . . ringing of the sacring bell, or *setting any light upon the Lord's board*. And finally, that the minister, in time of the holy communion, do use *only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other*, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popish mass."\*

Not only, therefore, was there no "authority of Parliament" for these lights in the second year of Edw. VI. (or indeed at any time), but the authority of Parliament in that year *excluded* them, by limiting the ceremonial of our Church to what was prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer then authorized.

The doctrine of our Church on this subject may be gathered from the way in which Bishop Jewell, in his "Defence of the Apology," replies to Harding's charge against our Church, that "lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had." He says,—

"Touching your lights and tapers, Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great learning and judgment, doubteth not but ye borrowed the use thereof from the Heathens. I grant, the Christians in old time had lights in their churches when they met together at their common prayers. But it appeareth by the antient Fathers that the same lights served to solace them against the dark, and not for any use of religion. S. Augustine saith, 'Vovent alius oleum, alius ceram ad luminaria noctis'; *They promise (to the Church) one oil, another wax, for the night lights*. Likewise saith Eusebius, Καθαρόν φῶς, ὅσον ἔχαρκσαι πρὸς ἐκλαμψιν τοῖς ἐνχομένοις: *Ignis purus, quantum satis esset ad præbendum lumen precantibus: a clear light, so much as might suffice the people at their prayers*. So likewise saith S. Hierome, 'Cereos non clara luce accendimus, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus.' *We light not our tapers at mid-day, but only by this comfort to ease the darkness of the night*."†

So the third part of the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, (in the Second Book of Homilies, published in 1562) when

\* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 2. P. 2. p. 292; or Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 81, 82.

† Jewell's Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, p. 21, in his Works, 1611, fol.



speaking of the Romish practice of lighting candles before images, adds what is strictly applicable to the practice now in question,—“For in the day it needeth not, but *was ever a proverb of foolishness, to light a candle at noon-time.*”\*

It is quite true, that, like the crucifix, as noticed in the last Section, the use of these lights was continued for a time by Queen Elizabeth in her own chapel. But as the passages quoted above (pp. 65—69) show, the practice even there was opposed by the leading divines of the day, and was not permitted in the public churches. Speaking of the cross and two burning tapers in the Queen’s chapel in 1559, Strype says,—“The Archbishop of Canterbury performed his part, by applying himself honestly to the Queen for divers reasons to remove them.” (Ann. I. 175 ; or I. i. 260.)

But as was the case with the crucifix, the retention of lights in the Royal Chapel led to their retention in some other places ; and so a precedent was left to the Laudian divines in the next century to introduce the practice into their own cathedrals and churches.

This, however, affords no foundation for such a practice to rest upon.

One remark I am compelled to add before I conclude this Section : and that is, that I am unable to draw a distinction between candles lighted and unlighted. The practice is contended for as a ceremony of religious signification, and is maintained solely by the authority of an Injunction that requires “*lights,*” and requires them for a symbolical purpose. If then the Injunction is to be followed, the candles must be *lighted*. If it is not to be followed, there is no authority for the candles even *unlighted*.

No doubt, if lights are required on the communion table for lighting the church when the service is performed by candle-light, and unlighted candles are placed on the communion table in the former part of the day, with the intent (real or professed) that they may be ready for that purpose, it might be hardly worth while, in ordinary cases, to notice such a practice. But as it is open to the supposition that there is a

\* Christian Knowledge Society ed. 1833. p. 250.

superstitious object in view in placing them there, it is surely a wiser course, and certainly looks more honest, not to adopt such a practice. And I suppose few will think it can produce any good effect upon the minds of the worshippers, to have unlighted candles upon the Table at the administration of the Communion, or at any other time. A *bad* effect it *may* produce in more ways than one; and one certainly is, that if noticed at all, it can only provoke a smile, as a palpable absurdity.

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Since this work was first printed, I have seen two little Tracts on the subject of Lights on the Communion Table: one by the Rev. A. P. Perceval, the other by "A Layman." The former contains some information worth notice, respecting the origin and history of the practice, which Mr. Perceval justly applies to show the incongruity of the practice with the principles of our Reformed Church. I fear, however, the parties whom he seeks to convince, are hardly accessible to such an argument. The "Layman" takes up the more important point of the legality of the practice, and arrives at the same conclusion as myself, but on ground the safety of which I question. He grants, that the Injunctions of Edward VI. were originally equivalent to an Act of Parliament, as a Royal Proclamation, (which I hope I have shown, p. 12, not to be the case) but contends, that the Act giving power to the King to issue Proclamations which should have the force of Acts, having been repealed in the first year of Edward's reign, the Injunctions had lost their authority in the second year of his reign. I should not like to rest much on this conclusion. The repeal of an Act giving power to the Sovereign to make laws, hardly seems to make invalid what the Sovereign has done under the powers confided to him by the Act. The cases mentioned in the Note seem to me hardly of a parallel kind. Suppose an Act of Parliament authorizing the Sovereign to prescribe laws for a Corporation. Would the repeal of the Act giving this power invalidate the laws which had been promulged by the Sovereign under that Act? At any rate the matter rests, I think, on much surer grounds.

## SECTION X.

## FURNITURE OF THE COMMUNION TABLE.

ON this head I shall first notice what is prescribed by the Rubric and Canons.

Besides the vessels immediately required for the ministration of the Holy Communion, namely, the "paten," "cup," and "chalice or flagon" containing the wine to be consecrated, (mentioned in the marginal Rubric of the Prayer of Consecration), the only ornament for the Communion Table, respecting which there is any direction in the present Rubric, is that mentioned in the following order,—"*The Table, at the Communion-time, having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand,*" &c. (Rubric prefixed to Communion Service.)

This direction was first introduced in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. in 1552, and has been continued in all the subsequent Books. No direction was given on the subject in the Prayer Book of 1549.

The order on this subject in the Canons of 1604 is, that the Communion Table is to be "covered, in time of Divine Service, " with a carpet of silk, or other decent stuff, thought meet by the " Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with " a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration, as becometh " that Table." (Can. 82.)

It will be observed here, that the covering of the Table in time of Divine Service, when the Communion is not about to be administered, is to be such as shall be "thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it;" and consequently it is entirely in the power of the Ordinary to prevent the use of any such tinsel trappings and Popish "altar-cloths" as have been of late introduced among us. The specific

recognition by the Canon of the power of the Ordinary in this respect places this beyond doubt.

In the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in 1559, the only direction given on this subject is, that the Communion Table is to be "commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the Visitors." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 188; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 201, 202.)

In 1561 were issued "Orders taken the x. day of October, "in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth " . . . by virtue of her Majesty's letters addressed to her Highness' " Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical;" in which it is directed, that "the Communion Table shall stand out of the " times of receiving the Communion, having thereon a fair linen " cloth, with some covering of silk, buckram, or other such " like, for the clean keeping of the said cloth on the Communion " board, at the cost of the parish."\*

This direction is repeated by Archbishop Grindal, in his Injunctions for the Province of York in 1571 (Works, p. 133), and in his Articles for the Province of Canterbury in 1576. (Ib. 157.)

In the "Advertisements" of 1564, the direction was a little more precise, namely, that "they shall decently cover with " carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linen " cloth (at the time of the ministration) the Communion Table." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 248; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 292.)

In the Canons of 1571 the only direction is, that the Churchwardens "shall see, there be a fair joined table, which may serve for the administration of the holy Communion, and a clean cloth (mundum tapetem) to cover it." (Book of certain Canons, &c., 1571. 4to. p. 18. For *Latin*, see Wilk. Conc. iv. 266; Cardw. Synod. i. 123.)

This was succeeded by the more specific direction of our present Canon; accompanied with the grant of a discretionary

\* I quote this from the original tract in my possession, which from its rarity escaped the notice both of Wilkins and Dr. Cardwell. Heylin has quoted it. The only other copy I know of, is one recently found (I am told) among Archbishop Secker's papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

power to the Ordinary to determine, in case of dispute, respecting the proper nature of the covering.

And I need hardly add, with respect to these coverings for the Table, that *images* upon the cloth of the Communion Table fall under the same prohibition that excludes them from the other parts of the Church.

These, then, are all the ornaments for the Communion Table, for which any authority can be found.

As it respects candles, and therefore candlesticks, so far as any religious purpose is concerned, I trust that it has been already shewn that they are prohibited.

And as to any other ornaments having a religious reference or purpose, they all fall under the objection of being *unauthorized*; and consequently *inadmissible*; inasmuch as the rule laid down for the preservation of uniformity *excludes* what it does not *prescribe*. (See Sect. I. above.) Uniformity could be maintained in no other way.

But among the earlier Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry, issued when some remnants of Popish superstition still lingered, though forbidden, in some of our churches, we find some testimonies against other ornaments; some of which I will now quote.

Thus, in the Injunctions of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in 1561, the fourth (quoted in full p. 27 above) orders, "that they neither suffer the Lord's Table to be *hanged* and *decked* like an *Altar*, neither," &c.

And in Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions for the Province of York in 1571, we have a specification of various forbidden ornaments; where he orders "that all vestments, albes, tunicles, " stoles, phanons, pixes, paxes, hand-bells, sacring-bells, censers, " chrismatories, crosses, candlesticks, holy-water stocks, or fat " images, and all other relics and monuments of superstition " and idolatry, be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed." (Works, pp. 135, 136.) And in his Articles of Inquiry for the Province of Canterbury in 1576, inquiry is made, in the same terms, whether all these things have been destroyed. (Works, p. 159.) And we find the same Prelate, when at York, issuing

Articles of direction to his Archdeacons, in which he orders "that no linen cloths, called altar-cloths, and before used about masses, be laid upon the Communion Table." (Works, p. 155.)

And among the "innovations" complained of by the House of Lords Committee in 1641, as having been introduced by the Laudian divines, are the following :—

"3. Advancing candlesticks in many churches upon the Altar so called. 4. In making canopies over the Altar so called, with traverses and curtains on each side and before it . . . 6. In advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront, or altar-cloth, so called." (Cardw. Conf. 2d ed. p. 272.)

And as to the *parochial*, and probably *many* of the *cathedral*, churches, these things *were* "innovations." Not that they were destitute altogether of precedent, because the Royal and some private chapels supplied a precedent, though not an authority for their use. With respect to these ornaments, as in the case of others already mentioned, an exception was made in favour of the Royal chapels, which continued for many years ornamented with things which had been ejected from the parochial churches. This left an opening for similar ornaments to find their way into the private chapels of the nobility and the bishops, wherever an inclination for them existed. And the peculiar circumstances under which Cathedrals and Collegiate chapels are placed, caused some of *them* also to adopt some of these ornaments, when their governing body happened to favour such things.

But all these are peculiar cases, and do not affect the general law under which the parochial churches of this kingdom are placed. Cathedrals and Colleges are subject only to the supervision of their Visitors, and are not amenable to the law in the same way as parochial churches; and consequently there is much scope for an indulgence of individual predilections, and the admission of irregularities.

But it needs no proof, that irregularities occurring under such circumstances, or even irregularities overlooked in a few paro-

And in the point now under consideration, the argument is strengthened by the fact, that the practice was enjoined by the Prayer Book of 1549, and the order for it deliberately *withdrawn* in all the subsequent Books of Common Prayer. The withdrawal of the order amounts, in fact, to a direct prohibition of the practice, because it shews an intention to exclude it.

And so some, at least, of our greatest divines have held.

Thus, for instance, Bishop Jewel, in his Reply to Harding, evidently treats the practice as one not in use in our Church, though he justly says, that of this custom, "*the superstition only excepted*, no man maketh any great account."\* But when he charges it with superstition, he sufficiently indicates the view he took of it.

So also our learned Bishop Morton classes it among the "false and novel rites of the Sacrament of the Eucharist;"† meaning, no doubt, to refer it, more especially, to the former sort, as it was certainly used at an early period of the Church.

I am quite aware, that our pious and learned Bishop Andrews approved of it, and practised it. And other inferior authorities might be quoted for its use. But individual examples of this kind cannot authorize what the law forbids. And this practice is, not only by the absence of any direction for its use, but also by the withdrawal of such direction existing in a former Prayer Book, by implication *prohibited*.

\* Reply to Harding, p. 26, in his Works, 1611, fol. .

† Apolog. Cathol. P. l. c. 78. ed. Lond. 1605. 4to. pp. 237, 8.

## SECTION XII.

ON THE MODE OF DELIVERING THE BREAD AND WINE TO  
THE COMMUNICANTS.

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ON this point the Rubric is so express, that it would have been unnecessary to say one word on the subject, but for the circumstance of a practice having been adopted from the first Prayer Book of Edw. VI., clearly opposed to what is now required.

The Rubric directs,—“Then shall the minister first receive the  
“ Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver  
“ the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in like manner,  
“ (if any be present) and after that to the people also in order,  
“ *into their hands*, all meekly kneeling.”

The direction is so precise, that the Communion in both kinds is to be delivered “*into their hands*,” that there is no pretext for even raising a doubt on the subject. And the same direction, (with the exception of the word “in” for “into”) was given in all the preceding Reformed Prayer Books, except the first of Edward VI., where it was ordered, that the people should “commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ’s body in their mouths at the priest’s hand.” (Rubric at end of Communion Service.) But as has been already observed, the directions on such subjects in this Book are of no authority. The mere withdrawal of directions given in this Book, in the Books of Common Prayer that succeeded it, is a strong testimony adverse to the legality of their being now followed. And in this case, not merely is the



direction withdrawn, but it is succeeded by one of an opposite kind. It would be a singular sort of conscientiousness, then, in one who earnestly maintained the duty of following out all the directions of the Prayer Book, to follow the directions of a Book which has been superseded, and disobey those of the Book which he has subscribed.

## SECTION XIII.

ON THE SERMON BEING PRECEDED AND FOLLOWED BY A PRAYER.

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THE only direction, in our present Rubric, respecting the Sermon, is as follows :—"Then [*i. e.* after the public notices following the Nicene Creed] shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth, "by authority." And immediately after follows the Rubric, "Then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table," &c.

So far as the Rubric is concerned, then, there is no *order* for any prayer before or after the Sermon. The Rubric *requires* nothing but the Sermon. But at the end of the Communion Office are several Collects, to which the following Rubric is prefixed :—"Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is "no Communion, every such day one or more; and the same "may be said also, as often as occasion shall serve, after the "Collects either of Morning or Evening Prayer, *Communion*, or "Litany, *by the discretion of the Minister*."

Now certainly this Rubric is not sufficiently specific to enable any one to say, that it *expressly* authorizes the use of these Collects before and after Sermon; but it does, I humbly conceive, go far to *justify* their use at those times. Now the Collect almost universally used after the Sermon, is one of these (commencing, "Grant, we beseech thee," &c.); and another of these Collects (commencing, "Prevent us, O Lord," &c.) is very frequently the one used before the Sermon.

Custom, however, has long decided in favour of the general use of the very appropriate Collect for the Second Sunday in

Advent, before the Sermon. At the same time it must be admitted, that this custom is not such as to have any legal force, and therefore the use of this Collect has no authority to rest upon.

With respect to the Lord's Prayer following the Collect before the Sermon, we have express authority for such a use of it in the first Act of Uniformity, 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1, which enacts, (§ 7) that "it shall be lawful for all men, as well " in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly "*any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible*, at any due time, " not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, " mentioned in the said Book."

From the way in which this Act is spoken of in the last Act of Uniformity, 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4, § 24, I conceive that this proviso is still in force.

So far, then, as the Prayer Book and the Acts of Uniformity are concerned, there is no definite direction on this subject, and the utmost that can be gathered from them is a permissive sanction to the use of one of the Communion Collects and the Lord's Prayer, as just mentioned.

But for a Prayer, or Exhortation to Prayer, before the Sermon, or rather at the beginning of the Sermon, an express direction is given in the 55th of the Canons of 1604; and no such discrepancy as has been suggested, will, upon examination, be found to exist between the order in the Canon and the Rubric of the Book of Common Prayer; and consequently, speaking *legally*, we are required to use the Form given in the Canon.

The 55th Canon, according to the English translation, is as follows. It is entitled, "The form of a Prayer to be used by all preachers before their Sermons," and enacts that,—“Before “ *all*\* Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, the Preachers and Ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer in “ this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they “ may:—Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, that “ is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed

\* The word “all” shows that the meaning of the Canon cannot be limited, as has been suggested, to Sermons preached without the previous use of the Common Prayers.

“ throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches  
 “ of England, Scotland, and Ireland : and herein, &c. &c. . . .  
 “ always concluding with the Lord’s Prayer.”

It has been urged by several respectable writers, that this order militates against the Acts of Uniformity, that limit us so closely and exclusively to the prayers and rites contained in the Book of Common Prayer ; which Book merely says, “ Then shall follow the Sermon,” &c. But this is a mistake ; for the bidding of prayer, followed by the Lord’s Prayer, was considered a part of the Sermon, and directed to be introduced into it ; and until comparatively modern times was, by those who attended to such matters, so used ; and this course was contemplated by the Canon ; for although, in the English, the words are, “ *before*” the Sermon, the Latin original shows, that this meant *in the commencement of the Sermon*, for, in the Latin, the title of the Canon is, “ *Precationis formula a concionatoribus in concionum suarum ingressu imitanda ;*” and the Canon commences, “ *Omnes concionatores et ministri in aditu cujusque suæ concionis,*” &c. (Wilk. Conc. iv. 389.)

And it is not, strictly speaking, a prayer, but an *exhortation* to the people, a *moving* of the people (as the Canon expresses it), to pray for certain things ; that is, to lift up their hearts to God for the objects mentioned ; concluding with the Lord’s Prayer, as a summary of all their petitions.

And in this manner we find it to have been used, before as well as since the Reformation, until comparatively modern times.

In an order issued by authority about the year 1535, on this subject, the title is,—“ This is an order taken for preaching and bidding of beads IN all sermons to be made within this realm.”\*

Thus also Bishop Latimer, in his Sermon at Stamford, Nov. 9, 1550, introduces the prayer in the commencement of his Sermon in the following way :—

“ And that I may, at this time, so declare them, as may be for

\* See Wheatley’s Bidding of Prayers, &c., or an Historical Vindication of the 55th Canon, 1718. 8vo. p. 18.

God's glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to help me with your prayers. In the which prayer, &c. for the universal Church of Christ through the whole world, &c., for the preservation of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth. . . . Thirdly, I commend unto you the souls departed this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to give laud, praise, and thanks to Almighty God, for his great goodness and mercy shewed unto them. . . . Pray, therefore, that we may have grace to die in the same faith of Christ as they did. . . . For this and grace let us say the Lord's Prayer."\*

So, also, it will be found, that in *each* of his seven Sermons before King Edward the VI. in 1549, there is an exhortation to prayer of this kind introduced in the *commencement* of the Sermon.†

Sometimes this exhortation to prayer was given at the *close* of the Sermon, of which we have an instance in Latimer's Morning Sermon before the Convocation on June 9, 1536, in the time of Henry VIII. ;‡ and also in his last Sermon before Edward VI., which (like that before the Convocation) is divided into two parts, and probably preached in the morning and afternoon, and the exhortation to prayer is given at the end of the first part.§

And in the Sermon of Archbishop Parker (when Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge) on the death of Martin Bucer in 1551, we find this Prayer (in the words of the form then prescribed) introduced at the close of the Sermon.|| And at the end of this exhortation to prayer, are the words, "*Hic factæ sunt tacitæ preces.*"

The same practice was continued in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Thus, in one of Bishop Jewell's Sermons (on Luke xi. 15.), we find him, after delivering the text, commencing thus :

"That it may please God so to order both my utterance and your

\* Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. i. pp. 283, 284.

† See his Works, P. S. ed. vol. i. pp. 88, 112, 131, 150, 174, 198, 217.

‡ Works, vol. i. p. 40.

§ Ib. p. 256.

|| See Buceri Script. Anglic. p. 898.

understanding, that whatsoever shall be spoken or heard, may turn to the glory of His holy name, and to the profit and comfort of His Church, before I enter into the exposition of these words, I desire you to call upon our gracious God with your earnest and hearty prayer. And here I commend unto you the good estate of God's holy and Catholic Church, and therein the Queen's most excellent Majesty, &c. &c." (Works, 1611, Sermon and Treat. p. 202.)

And in the next (on Rom. xiii. 12.) we find, shortly after the commencement of the Sermon, a notice of the introduction of an exhortation to Prayer, which was probably of the same kind, but which, in the report we have of the Sermon, is (as usual) represented merely by an "&c.," it being needless to repeat the form. The passage is this,—“But before I proceed further to declare that which is to be spoken at this present, let us turn our hearts to God, even the Father of lights, that it may please Him to open the eyes of our understanding, and to direct all our doings to His glory, &c.” (Ib. p. 210.)

L'Estrange tells us, that he could only find examples of the use of the Bidding Prayer, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, in the following six authors,—Archbishops Parker and Sandys, and Bishops Gardiner, Latimer, Jewell, and Andrews.\* But in all probability the omission of any notice of it in other sermons that remain to us, arises only from its being well known as a customary and prescribed form, and therefore not considered to require insertion. The greater number of the Sermons extant of the authors in whom we find it, are destitute of it, though there can be no reason assigned, why it should have been inserted in the Sermons in which it occurs, more than in the others of the same authors.

Wheatley adds another instance “in a Latin Sermon of Dr. Pearn, Master of Peter House in Cambridge, and Dean of Ely, preached in King's College Chapel before Queen Elizabeth, in August, 1564, when she visited that University.”†

\* Alliance of Div. Off. ed. 1690, p. 173.

† Bidding of Prayers, &c., an Historical Vindication of the 55th Canon. 1718. 8vo. p. 29.

I have observed another in a Sermon by Dr. John Bridges, (afterwards Bishop of Oxford) at Paul's Cross, in 1571, where, after the text has been explained and divided into subjects, it follows :—" Thus this whole sentence, ' So God loved the " world, &c.' being contrived and divided orderly into these four " parts, let us make our entry into the several considerations of " them, with faithful and humble prayer. *Precatio.* You have " heard," &c.\*

An example of the introduction of this prayer into the Sermon since the Canon of 1604, occurs in the Sermon preached by Dr. Sancroft (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) at the consecration of seven Bishops in 1660, an occasion when, no doubt, the most regular form of proceeding would be adopted. After the explication and division of his text, he proceeds thus,—" These are the parts. Of which that I may so speak, and " you so hear, &c., we beseech God the Father, in the name of " his Son Jesus Christ, to give us the assistance of his Holy " Spirit. And in these and all other our supplications, let us " always remember to pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church," &c. &c., proceeding to all the heads mentioned in the Canon, adding the two Universities, and concluding,—“ For which, and for all other needful blessings, let us say together the Prayer of our Lord,” &c.†

It is clear, therefore, that the Prayer, or rather Exhortation to Prayer, required by the Canon, has always been considered as being properly part of the Sermon ; and the place where it ought to be introduced, according to the Canon of 1604, is in the *commencement* of the Sermon, not before the text, but before the subject is formally discussed.

And it may be remarked, that traces of this practice are frequently to be found in Sermons to the present day : a brief Prayer for Divine aid and guidance being often introduced in that part of the Sermon.

This view is maintained by Dr. Heylin, in an elaborate

\* Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1571, by John Bridges. Lond. [1571.] 4to. pp. 2, 3.

† D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. ii. pp. 309—311.

Treatise on the 55th Canon, first published in 1637,\* containing much historical information on the subject. He says,—

“ Next we may argue for the Form of *Bidding Prayers*, that at the first, when it was introduced into the Church, it rather was a part of the very Sermon, one of the principal instructions therein delivered, than any preparation to it . . . . [And after quoting some examples, he adds]: Nay, by the rule laid down in the Queen’s Injunction, it seems it was not to be used till the end of the Sermon; and therefore no such necessary preparation to it, as it is now conceived and made. For presently on the conclusion of the said Form of *Bidding Prayers*, it followeth thus in the Injunction: ‘ *And this done, show the holy-days and fasts.*’ This, by our present Liturgy, (confirmed in Parliament before the setting out of the said Injunctions), is ordered to be done after the Homily or Sermon: and might seem inconvenient, if not absurd, should it be done in the middle of the Sermon, much more between the Prayer and the Sermon, which also seems to have been put to practice in King Edward’s time: Dr. Parker not descending to the *Bidding of Prayers*, (or to his exhortation *ad preces*, as it is there called), till he was come to the conclusion of his matter in the close of all. Now, where the Canon hath appointed, that the Form of Prayer there recited be used by preachers before the Sermon—*i. e.*, before the substance of it, (the preface and division being only a manu-duction thereunto, and no part thereof), as Bishop Andrews always used it, or else between the Text and Sermon, as others no less eminent than he have been accustomed to do; or if it must needs be interpreted to be before them both, as the most would have it, we must then think the Church was pleased to yield a little unto the current of the time, in which that fashion generally had been taken up; and that the Church regarded not so much the circumstance as the main and substance, which was to lay before the people some heads of Prayer, and thereby to cut off those long and tedious Prayers so much used of late.” (§ 18; Ed. in Tracts, pp. 157, 158.)

From this passage, we see that even at that period some were in the habit of using the Form before giving out the text; and other passages of the same treatise show, that it was often

\* A Brief Discourse touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be used by Preachers before their Sermons, Can. 55. Lond. 1637. Reprinted among his “*Histor. and Miscell. Tracts*,” Lond. 1681. fol. pp. 148 et seq.



turned into a Prayer instead of a Form for bidding prayer, or moving the people to pray; to oppose which custom was the object Dr. Heylin had in view in writing his *Treatise*.\* His doubt whether the Canon was to be interpreted as meaning the Form to be used before the text, would have been cleared up (as I have shown) by a reference to the Latin.

Precisely the same remarks are made on this subject (probably derived from this passage of Heylin) by Wheatly in his Tract already cited;† but he adds, that “the words of the Canon seem at first to have been interpreted to mean no more, than that Prayers should be bid before the substance or main scope of the Sermon; the preface and division being only accounted an Introduction to the Discourse itself.”

The passages quoted above from Latimer, Jewell, and others, clearly show also, that they used not a direct prayer, but an exhortation to pray. And this is evidently what is required both by our present Canon, and by the previous Injunctions on the same subject, which that Canon followed. And if any one has any doubt on the point, I refer him to the Treatises of Heylin and Wheatley (just cited) on the 55th Canon.

There is nothing, therefore, in the direction of the Canon at all opposed to the Rubric or the Acts of Uniformity. What is there ordered, was intended to form part of the Sermon, and therefore on that ground would not come under the provisions of the Act; and secondly, it is not a prayer, but an exhortation to the people, in the Sermon, to pray for certain blessings, and therefore not any thing forbidden by the Act.

In fact, the history of the Form shows, that there could have been no intention to prohibit it in any of the Acts of Uniformity.

And as a short account of its history may tend to elucidate the subject, I will here add a few words on that point.

It clearly derives its origin from the old Form in use here

\* He tells us, indeed, that a custom in preachers to introduce a prayer of their own in the pulpit, had “found such entertainment among them also who otherwise were not ill affected unto the order of the Church, that, in the end, the usual Form of bidding prayers was in a manner laid aside by all sorts of men, and is now forced to plead its birthright, and seek for repossession,” &c. (p. 157.)

† On the 55th Canon, pp. 61—63.

long before the Reformation, by which the people who were unable to follow the Latin Service were directed to pray for the Pope, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Church, the King and Queen, &c. ; or (in the terms then in use) to *bid their beads* for these parties. A Form of this kind, of the 14th century, is given by L'Estrange, of which the following is a brief specimen, the original being of some length.

"Ye shulle stonde up and bydde your bedys in the worshepe of our Lord Jhesu Christ, and his moder Saint Marye . . . . Ye shulle also bydde for the stat of Holy Cherche, for the Pope of Rome and his Cardinalis. . . . Ye shulle bydde for the Erchebyscop of Canturbury, for the Byscop of Worssetre, our ghostly fader and all oder Biscopis. . . . Ye shulle bydde for the King of Engeland, for the Quene, and for all here childryne," &c. &c.\*

Another Form of a later date is given by the same author, which commenees thus,—

"After a laudable custom of our Mother, Holy Church, ye shall kneel down, moving your hearts unto Almighty God, and making your special prayers for the three Estates, concerning all Christian people—*i. e.*, for the spirituality, the temporality, and the souls being in the pains of purgatory. First, for our holy father the Pope, with all his Cardinals ; for all Archbishops and Bishops. . . . Secondly, ye shall pray for the unity and peace of all Christian realms, and especially for the noble realm of England, for our Sovereign Lord the King,"† &c. &c.

These exhortations to prayer were introduced in the Sermon, and at that part of it which the discretion of the preacher might select.

This Form was of course one of the first things altered by Henry VIII. on his rupture with Rome, and was made the vehicle for requiring an acknowledgment of his new title as Supreme Head of the Church of England.

In 1534 an order was issued by the King, by Proclamation dated June 9, 1534, "that all and all manner of ecclesiastical " persons should teach, preach, publish, and declare in all manner

\* Alliance of Divine Offices, ed. 1690, p. 349.

† Ib. p. 171.

“ of churches, the said his just title, stile, and jurisdiction on every Sunday, and high feast throughout the year.”\*

And in the year 1535, the following Form was issued by Royal authority.

“ This is an order taken for preaching and bidding of beads in all Sermons to be made within this realm.—First, whosoever shall preach in the presence of the King’s Highness and the Queen’s Grace, shall, in the bidding of beads, pray for the whole Catholic Church of Christ, as well quick as dead, and especially for the Catholic Church of this realm; and first, as we be most bounden, for our Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII., being immediately next under God the only Supreme Head of this Catholic Church of England. And for the most gracious Lady Queen Anne, his wife, and for the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both. And no further.

“ Item, The preacher in all other places of this realm, not in the presence of the King’s said Highness, and the Queen’s Grace, shall in the bidding of the beads pray first in manner and form, and word for word, as is above ordained and limited; adding thereto in the second part, for all Archbishops and Bishops,” &c.†

An instance of the way in which this Form was carried out, we see in Bishop Latimer’s Sermon before Convocation in 1536, where we find that it was used after the old manner of bidding the prayers of the congregation, terminating with the Lord’s Prayer, as a prayer for all the blessings asked.‡

Immediately after the accession of Edward VI., a similar Form was issued in his Injunctions of 1547, entitled “The Form of bidding the Common Prayers,” which commences thus:—“ You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ’s Church; and especially for this Church of England and Ireland; wherein first I commend to your devout prayers the King’s most excellent Majesty, Supreme Head, immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporality of the same Church,” &c. &c.;§ the whole running on in the same form.

The Book of Common Prayer not being yet issued, the only

\* Heylin l. c. pp. 150, 151.

† Heylin l. c. p. 150.

‡ Latimer’s Works, vol. i. p. 40; or Heylin l. c. p. 151.

§ Wilk. Conc. iv. 8; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 21.

"Common Prayers" were those offered when this Form was used, and hence the title given to it. The Popish *beads* were then prohibited, as appears from one of these Injunctions.

And notwithstanding the publication of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549, (in which the Rubric respecting the Sermon is similar to what we now have), and the Act of Uniformity enforcing the Book, we find, from the examples given above from Bishop Latimer's Sermons, that an exhortation to prayer of this kind, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, was still practised, even in the presence of the King; and another instance might have been added from a Sermon of Bishop Gardiner in 1550.\*

Again, immediately after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, a similar Form was issued in her Injunctions of 1559, entitled, "The Form of bidding the Prayers to be used generally in this uniform sort," and commencing,—“Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, &c. . . . And herein I require you most specially to pray for the Queen's most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme Governor of this realm, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal. Ye shall also pray,” &c., proceeding very similarly to the Canon of 1604. (Wilk. Conc. iv. 188, 189; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 202, 203.)

In none of these Forms is it particularly directed, that it is to be concluded with the Lord's Prayer; but it is clear, from the way in which they were used, that this was universally understood.

Now this Injunction was issued immediately after, and almost contemporaneously with, the Book of Common Prayer and Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth; and therefore could hardly be supposed to be opposed to them; and the practice of Bishop Jewell and others shows how it was then regarded. And we have Archbishop Whitgift inquiring in 1588, (as I shall show presently), whether the Injunction was observed.

And perhaps one of the strongest proofs that a prayer of this kind was generally used in the Sermon in the time of Queen

\* See Heylin l. c. p. 155.

Elizabeth, and that preachers were considered to be bound to use it, is to be found in the reply of Robert Wright, a Puritan preacher, in 1582, to a charge that "in preaching he used to say prayers of his own devising," to which he answers, that "he "prayed as preachers use to do in all places, and altogether in "prescript words, but as the occasion fell out in some points. "Yet he ever prayed for the Queen's Majesty, and for the lords "of the Council, and for all ministers of God's word, and so for "Archbishops and Bishops, seeing they be ministers."\* Whatever his practice might really be, this answer shows that the order of the Injunction was the rule.

And finally, we have another testimony to the use of the Form at this period in a remark made by King James in the Hampton Court Conference in 1603, where he said, "I have "observed since my coming into England, that some preachers "before me can be content to pray for James, King of Eng- "land, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith ; "but as for supreme Governor in all causes and over all persons " (as well ecclesiastical as civil) they pass that over with silence, "and what cut they have been of, I after learned."†

Immediately after came the Canon of 1604, authorized by the King, almost simultaneously with a Royal Proclamation ordering the strict observance of the Book of Common Prayer as then set forth, and in a Code of Canons of which the fourteenth binds us to the exclusive use of the rites and prayers of that Book.

It is impossible, therefore, to suppose, that there is any opposition between the direction of the Canon and the Rubrics of the Prayer Book. And it will be observed, that, from the first, the Form has invariably been an exhortation to prayer, and not a prayer, and has been introduced in the sermon.

Moreover, the observance of this practice has been at various times (till within a comparatively recent period), strictly enforced by the authorities of the Church, which would hardly have been the case, if it had been opposed to the Act of Uniformity.

\* Strype's Ann. III. 124, or III. i. 178, and App. No. xxiii.

† End of 2d Day's Conf. ; See Cardw. Conf. p. 203.

Thus, Queen Elizabeth's Injunction on the subject was enforced by Archbishop Whitgift in Art. 8 of his Inquiries at his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Salisbury in 1588. (Wilk. iv. 337 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. ii. 14.)

And immediately after the Canon of 1604 was passed, we have the following inquiry in Bancroft's Metropolitan Visitation of Wells Cathedral in 1605 :—

“ XII. Item, Whether the prebendaries and other the preachers of this church, *in their sermons*, do use to pray for the King's Majesty, the Queen, Prince, and all his highness's issue ; and to give unto his highness in their prayer, *according to the late Constitutions*, his whole stile, and so do pursue the particulars in the said Constitution appointed for that end to be observed ?” (Wilk. iv. 416.)

And in 1619 a strict order was issued, at the command of the King, by Archbishop Abbot, for the observance of the Canon throughout his Province. (Wilk. iv. 460 ; Cardw. Doc. Ann. ii. 133.)

Many extracts to this effect are given, from the extant Episcopal and Archidiaconal Articles of Inquiry at Visitations, in Bowtell's Defence of the 55th Canon, from whom Wheatley has repeated some (in his Tract already quoted) from Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, in 1636, and again when Bishop of Ely, in 1662 ; Dr. Dee, Bishop of Peterborough, in 1637 ; Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, in his third triennial Visitation ; Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Chichester, in 1670, and at Ely in 1676 and 1679 ; the Archdeacon of Middlesex, in 1670, and the Archdeacon of Lewes, in 1671.\*

I find a similar inquiry in the Articles of Inquiry of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, in 1638 :—

“ Doth he [your minister] before his sermon use such Form of prayers as is prescribed by the ecclesiastical Canon for the prevention of the indiscreet flying out of some in their extemporary prayers ?” (Art 11, concerning the Clergy.)

Thus also Dr. Warner, Bishop of Rochester, in his Articles of Inquiry at his Visitation in 1638, inquires,—

\* On 55th Canon, pp. 51, 52 ; 59, 60.

" Whether doth your preacher in his prayer which he maketh *at his sermon*, use to pray for his Majesty, with his whole title, for our gracious Queen, the Prince, and whether doth he in like manner then pray for the Archbishops and Bishops, as by Law is also appointed ?"\*

A similar inquiry occurs among the Articles of Inquiry in Laud's Metropolitan Visitation Articles in 1635;† while a previous Article specially asks, whether the Book of Common Prayer has been adhered to "without any omission or *addition*."‡

So also Bishop Mountagu, at Chichester, in 1637,—

" Doth your minister use in his prayer to pray for the King, the Queen, Clergy, Council, &c., and conclude with the Lord's Prayer, according to the 55th Canon ?"§

And after the Restoration, the following Canon was agreed to in Convocation, May 12, 1662:—"That the clergy, who perform holy duties in the church, shall use no other form of public service or prayer, either before or after their sermons, than what is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, or appointed and ordered by the Ecclesiastical Constitutions of the Church of England." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 575.)

Again, in Archbishop Tenison's Letter to the Bishops of his Province in 1695, (subsequent to the last Act of Uniformity,) the third direction is,—

" It seems very fit, that you require your clergy in their prayer before sermon, to keep to the effect of the 55th Canon : it being commonly reported, that it is the manner of some in every diocese, either to use only the Lord's Prayer, (which the Canon prescribes as the conclusion of the prayer, and not the whole prayer) or at least to leave out the King's titles, and to forbear to pray for the Bishops as such." (Cardw. Doc. Ann. ii. 335.)

A similar order was given by George I. in his "Directions to the Archbishops and Bishops" in 1714, which runs thus:—

VI. "Whereas also we are credibly informed, That it is the man-

\* Articles to be inquired of within the Diocese of Rochester, &c. Lond. 1638. 4to. Art. 16, concerning the Clergy.

† See Art. 8, concerning the Clergy.

‡ Ib. Art. 1.

§ Articles, &c. Lond. 1637. 4to. Art. 7, concerning Ministers and Preachers.

ner of some in every Diocese, before their sermon, either to use a Collect and the Lord's Prayer, or the Lord's Prayer only, (which the 55th Canon prescribes as the conclusion of the Prayer, and not the whole Prayer) or at least to leave out our Titles, by the said Canon required to be declared and recognised : We do further direct, That you require your Clergy, in their Prayer before Sermon, that they do keep strictly to the Form in the said Canon contained, or to the full effect thereof." (Wilk. Conc. iv. 667.)

The law of the Church, then, (viewed strictly) clearly is, that the preacher, on ascending the pulpit, should immediately give out his text, and then in the commencement of his discourse introduce an exhortation to prayer in the Form given in the Canon, adding the Lord's Prayer.

If we seek to know the reason for the original introduction of this exhortation to prayer in the Sermon, it is, I believe, correctly given by L'Estrange in the following passage :—

"The *agenda* of religion in our Church, before the Reformation, were performed, it is well known, in Latin, a language very unedifying to a non-intelligent people. That so many, so much interested and concerned in those sacred offices, should not be totally excluded, as idle spectators, or fit for nothing, but now and then to return an *Amen* to they knew not what, this expedient was devised : the people were exhorted to join in prayers, according to certain heads, dictated to them by the minister in the English tongue, observing the method and materials of the then Prayer for all States, so that of all the service then used, this only could properly be called *Common-Prayer*, as being the only Form wherein the whole congregation did join in consort, and therefore the Title of it in the Injunctions of Edward VI. anno 1547, is, *The Form of Bidding the Common Prayers*. Now because it was made by *Allocution*, or speaking to the people, agreeing with what the Primitive Church called *προσφωνησις*, it was called *Bidding of Prayers*."\*

The reason for its enforcement since the Reformation, when there has not been the same need of it, (the Common Prayers of the Church being in English) has clearly been chiefly political ; namely, at first, as securing a public acknowledgment by the

\* Alliance of Divine Offices, 2nd Ed., 1690, fol., pp. 170, 171.



Clergy, and inculcating upon the laity, the ecclesiastical rights of the Sovereign, as then recently established ; and, at a later period, an acknowledgment of the rights of the reigning monarch. This is evident from the passages already quoted, in which its observance is enforced.

And when it was not wanted to answer either of these purposes, we find that its use has been little urged, but the Clergy generally left at liberty to follow their own wishes in the matter.

I am no advocate for its being again enforced, the previous service having anticipated almost everything it contains, and the introduction of such a prayer in the Sermon, after the previous service, appearing incongruous and out of place. But I fear there is as much ground for it now, as there was in the times succeeding the Reformation ; for there seems as much reluctance, in a large party among us, practically to recognize the Sovereign as "Supreme Governor over all persons in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal," as could have existed among the Crypto-Papists or Puritans of those times.

Before I quit the consideration of this Canon, I must also point out one fact connected with it, the observance of which may be of importance in the present day, as shewing the doctrine of our Church on a point on which her views have been much misrepresented. It will be observed, that the Canon defines "Christ's holy Catholic Church" as "the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," and requires us to pray especially for "the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Now, when this Canon was drawn up, the Church of Scotland was *Presbyterian*.

On several grounds, therefore, we need not be surprised, that the claims of this Canon have not yet been discovered by our recent revivalists of Rubric and Canon law.

I must not, however, conclude this Section, without pointing out that, ordinarily, from the very first, much latitude has been allowed to preachers in the matter here discussed. The authorities to prove this are endless. I must confine myself to a few.

The first occurs in a work by Thomas Becon, a Prebendary of

Canterbury, who had been chaplain to Crammer, entitled, "A new Postil, containing most godly and learned sermons to be read in the Church throughout the year. . . . perused and allowed according to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions," and published in the year 1566. In this work, as Strype observes, are "two Prayers, either of them to be said before Sermon, a longer and a shorter, according to the minister's discretion; and another prayer or thanksgiving to be said after Sermon." (Strype's Parker 228; or i. 454.)

Again, Bishop Jewell frequently concludes his Sermons with a brief prayer, as on Ps. lxi. 9. "And thou, O most merciful Father, grant that thy words be not spoken in vain," &c. (See Sermons in his Works.)

I do not refer to the practice of the Puritans, because the licence allowed in this matter was abused by them, especially in the 17th century, to the introduction of long prayers before their Sermons, to the disparagement of the previous Service; and this was one reason why the order in the Injunction and Canon was urged upon the Clergy. But it is clear that the custom of introducing a prayer, generally of the preacher's own composition, before and after the Sermon, extensively prevailed in the Church, and not merely among the Puritans.

Thus, in the answer of the Bishops, in July 1660, to the Petition of the Nonconformists to the King, in which they say that "they are satisfied concerning the lawfulness of a Liturgy," provided that the minister is not "so confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of those gifts for prayer and exhortation which Christ hath given him, for the service and edification of the Church,"\* the Bishops reply,—“Nor are ministers denied the use and exercise of their gifts in praying before and after Sermon. Although such praying be but the continuance of a custom of no great antiquity, and grown into common use by sufferance only, without any other foundation in the laws or canons, and ought therefore to be used by all sober and godly men with the greatest inoffensiveness and moderation possible.”†

\* Baxter's Life p. 234, 235.

† Ib. p. 245.

It is quite true, that they wished afterwards to "suppress" the custom ;\* but with this we are not concerned.

We have similar testimony, also, from others whose witness will not be suspected of any "Puritan" leanings. Thus, for instance, Lewis, in his Tract on "The case of observing such Fasts and Festivals as are proclaimed by the King's authority, and of using the Prayers provided," &c., published in 1744, (2nd ed.) remarks incidentally,—“So have our Bishops and Clergy used Forms of prayer of their own composing, *in and after* their Sermons, ever since the Reformation” (pp. 16, 17) ; and he adds the two following additional testimonies to the same effect :

“Pulpit Prayers of private composure, besides what they have been formerly or are at this time in other churches, are now allowed of by our own Church.” (Kettlewell, of Christian Communion, p. 107. ed. 1693.)

“By the Divine permission, as well as by the custom of the Church and his Majesty's allowance . . . Ministers may use their own gifts before and after their Sermons in prayer and praises, besides the Liturgy.” (Bp. Gauden's Considerations touching the Liturgy, p. 39.)

I will only add, that innumerable examples of the practice might easily be adduced from the works of our greatest divines of all parties.

In fact, even when the observance of the Canon was strictly pressed, the only thing apparently insisted on, was the recognition in the Prayer of “the whole stile and title” of the Sovereign.

It is much to be regretted, that directions more definite and practical have not been laid down by our Church in this matter. It appears that the subject has more than once been under consideration since the Canon of 1604 was passed, but nothing has been done. Thus, Collier tells us, that, in the Convocation of 1640, “many of the members excepted against tying up

\* See their Reply to the Exceptions of the Nonconf. to the Prayer Book in Cardw. Conf. pp. 337 and 341.

“ Preachers to use the Prayer before the Sermon, prescribed by the 55th Canon. To relieve them under this grievance, as some counted it, a short Prayer, comprehending the matter of the Canon, was drawn up. This Form, it was said, would have been well received by those who scrupled at the direction of the Canon. But the Archbishop thought it better to keep close to the old rule, than run the risk of a new experiment, and thus the motion was dropped without going further.” (Eccles. Hist. ii. 793.)

Again, in 1661 we find, among the Acts of the Upper House of Convocation on the 9th of December, the following notice,—  
 “ His peractis, dicti reverendi patres unanimi consensu et assensu in votis dederunt pro unica forma precum tam ante quam post sermonem sive orationem prædicatam usitanda et observanda per ministros intra provinc’ Cant’.” (Cardw. Synod. vol. ii. p. 656.) But we hear no more of it; or rather, we find that on May 12, 1662, it was agreed in Convocation, that the Clergy should be required to use only what was prescribed by the Prayer Book and Canons. (See p. 104. above.)

And even Wheatley intimates his agreement with those who think, that, as the whole Service is now in English, and understood by the people, the need of the Bidding Prayer has ceased; adding, “ And therefore, if ever our superiors shall think it proper to appoint a short Collect or Prayer for a blessing upon the Word, to be used instead of the Exhortation now prescribed by the Canon, I declare for myself, I foresee no imperfection or injury that will arise to the Service by such a change.”\*

This is exactly what custom has sanctioned, and what is now the general practice in our Church; and it is to be regretted, that we should have to confess, that a usage which has so commended itself, by its evident propriety, to general adoption, is not established upon a surer foundation.

\* On Canon 55, p. 15.



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